

# DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxi. 8, 9.

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## The Suffrage and Educational Questions.

Twenty or thirty years have elapsed since the colored people of this State began, and during which they have continued, with more or less vigor, to petition the Legislature for Equal Suffrage. One generation of petitioners have passed away, to meet those whom they petitioned in vain, before that august Presence who will judge them equally. It is hard to say whether we are any nearer, to-day, to Free Suffrage, than we were in 1837. The Constitutional Convention of 1846 submitted the question to the people in a separate vote, and there was an overwhelming majority against us. A frightful murder, by an insane colored man, FREEMAN, turned public sentiment against us in Central and Western New York, on the eve of that vote, and, doubtless, added fifty thousand to that majority. Had the resolutions to re-submit the question to the people, adopted by the Legislature in 1857, met a different fate, and had the question been submitted to the people again last autumn, it is impossible to say how the case would have gone.

But, with our Senators in Congress voting to admit Oregon with a constitution which entirely excludes the black man from that Territory, with a new Republican Governor of this State, who, although deeply indebted to colored men for his election, with the implied, if not expressed pledge to favor their cause if elected, yet ignoring the Suffrage Question in his message, and pardoning a self-convicted kidnapper as his first exercise of that power—it is easy to see where the leaders of the party are, and where the rank and file would have mustered, had they been called upon to vote on Negro Suffrage, in the autumn of 1858.

Could the question be submitted to the people, for a free vote, without the trammels or the influences of party leaders, we would gladly submit it to-morrow, secure in a triumphant majority; the heart of New York is a right true and noble heart, could it follow

its own bent; it was a wary consciousness of this fact which led SEWARD, on the eve of last election, to suffer that heart to swell in one glorious throb, one generous beat, before the other political doctors had swathed it with Republican bandage and tourniquet. Well he knew, in his subtle calm, that the fiery sparks of freedom showered broadcast o'er the land, by the humane sweetness and moral height of GERRIT SMITH, would have broken the ranks of the Republican party—and he saved the party by the Homeopathic remedy—like cures like.

In 1866, just seven years hence, we are to have another Constitutional Convention. In the meantime, two Presidents and three Governors are to be elected. Is there not intelligence enough, and vigor enough in the black men in this State so to revolutionize—not the public sentiment, for that is right enough—the leaders of party as to make Equal Suffrage a necessity for them, as well as a triumph to ourselves?

In the meantime, is it right, is it wise to throw our entire public and organized movements into the single issue of the Suffrage Question? Are there not other objects hardly less important, and decidedly more accessible in which we could concentrate our efforts from Buffalo to Montauk Point. We need a success in order to train our forces and inspire them with necessary hope and confidence.—Suppose, for example, that we take up the subject of our common school privileges. We pay equal taxes throughout the State, and own an equal share in the school fund, yet, with few exceptions, we are debarred from equal school privileges. And we are thus debarred, not by constitutional exclusion, nor by statute, but in glaring violation of the Constitution and the School Laws. What we need in this matter, is, the simple enforcement of laws already in existence. We are to attack the School officers in their meetings, and demand our rights, and if they refuse, then we are to sue for them in the Courts of Justice, and the law is so clear, that if the lower courts decide against us, the higher ones cannot but reverse such decision.

The point which we must aim at, is, to obtain admission for our children into the nearest school house, and the best school house in our respective neighborhoods. An earnest, well organized and persistent effort in this direction must succeed. Whatever may be the prejudice against colored men, it must be less against colored children, and we touch a chord of ever-living sympathy in the public heart, when we struggle manfully to give our children a fair chance for a good education.

Perhaps the most unpromising field for this labor is the city of New York, which has been truly said to be directly controlled by the General Government at Washington, that is the South. In New York, the Board of Education is part of the general political machinery. Yet even in that city there is hope, if we

may judge from the following extract from the address of RICHARD WARREN, Esq., on his election as President of the Board of Education, (N. Y. City,) delivered Jan. 12th, 1859:

"I cannot refrain from calling the attention of this Board to the present condition of the schools for colored children in our midst. This class of persons, deprived as it is, of the social and political privileges which others occupy, is certainly entitled to receive more care in the education of the children than it has had. Many of the school-rooms in which they assemble, are, in every respect, unsuited for them, and unfit for the purpose for which they are occupied.

"It is a duty, then, we are called to perform to watch with kindness and care over the places where they meet together, and to aid the young to rise to a more elevated position than has been generally attained by those who have lived in our cities. *The time will come when this prejudice of color will die out*; but as yet, it prevails too strongly to be contended against in regard to our educational institutions."

There is strong encouragement from Egypt itself. The plan of operations we would respectfully suggest to our brethren in this State, is, that we shall have a State educational convention, in May or August; that the delegates shall bring a statement of the school going privileges and deficiencies in his neighborhood; that a memorial, based upon these facts, shall be presented to the Legislature; that funds be raised to keep an educational lobby member at Albany during the next session, whose duty it shall be to press the passage of a general law in regard to our school privileges; that local funds be raised to test the question of the admission of colored children into common schools.

We do not propose this educational movement as a substitute for the suffrage movement; but we submit it to the judgment of our brethren that it is time we looked well to the education of our children.

We are rejoiced to learn that the colored youth who made application for admission to Union College, Schenectady, has been successful. The question was submitted by the President, the venerable DR. NOTT, to the vote of the class; a majority of ten voted in the affirmative; the President still demurred, says a correspondent of the New York Tribune; but recent letters state that all objection had ceased, and the young gentleman of color, MR. DAVID ROSELL, is now a student in the ancient seat of learning which has produced such men as Hon. WM. H. SEWARD and the Hon. GERRIT SMITH. The world moves. There is hope in that vote of the young gentleman of Union College. Should it be put to the vote of those most deeply interested, and who know best about the matter, whether colored children should be admitted to common schools to-morrow, a large majority of the three-fourths of a million of children who attend common schools in our State, would vote "YES!"

In the Michigan Legislature a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State, granting to colored persons the right of suffrage, has been defeated, several Republicans voting against the measure.



## F. P. Blair's Lecture in Boston.

A very remarkable lecture was delivered in Boston on the 26th ult. by FRANCIS P. BLAIR, ex-Member of Congress, and the recently defeated Republican candidate from St. Louis, Missouri. As showing forth the position and policy of that party towards the black population, slave and free, of the United States, it is worthy of attentive consideration.

In the way of their triumph in 1860, the Republicans see only the great negro question. Meet this question they must. But how? They cannot succeed this time if they raise the banner of emancipation simple and pure. They cannot succeed without the votes of Anti-Slavery men. To guide their barque between this Scilla and Charybdis requires a combination of astuteness, courage and address. Could one of those convenient clouds with which the Homeric Gods surrounded their favorite heroes in the thick of battle at the siege of Troy be reproduced on earth just now, THURLOW WEED would procure it by pledging the in-coming Administration for a larger amount of dollars than would purchase Cuba and Canada together; he would shroud all Afric-Americans in its impenetrable folds, and, secure in the successful *glamour*, would make a President as easily as he has made a Governor. But this cloud cannot be procured. The "spot" will not "out." The blacks are a fixed fact; they cannot be converted into a vanishing fraction. But they may be so placed in the public eye, so presented to the public attention, that while they will not fatally commit the party to Anti-Slavery principles, they will give it just enough of the odor of those principles to soothe down the asperities and evade the opposition of the Anti-Slavery voters. Such is the evident purpose of Mr. BLAIR's lecture, or, more properly, manifesto.

The propositions laid down by Mr. BLAIR are as follows:

1. That Slavery is a blight upon the States wherein it exists.
2. That it should be abolished by the joint action of the State and Federal Governments.
3. That the emancipated negroes should be removed to the Mexican and tropical regions immediately adjacent to the United States.
4. That this removal is necessary, because the climate of the tropical regions is favorable, whilst that of the Southern States, being in the temperate zone, is unfavorable to the constitutions of the negroes; while the white man, being peculiarly fitted to the temperate zone, can perform, in the Southern States, by free labor, all the agricultural labor, such as raising cotton and sugar, which is now performed by negro-slave labor.
5. That this removal is further necessary, because white free laborers and black free laborers cannot live together on the same territory.
6. That it is further necessary, because it is obeying the will of God to separate the races and place each in that territory which conforms to the law of its creation.
7. That by thus founding a colony of emancipated negroes in the tropical region of America, the United States will repay to that race in benefits a compensation for the great injuries heaped upon it, and will found an empire as rich in its returns to the United States, as India has been to the Empire of Great Britain. The colony to be governed

and conducted by negro magnates, and to be under some undefined protectorate of the United States.

Such are the propositions. The first proposition is true. The second is a near approach to Radical Abolition doctrine, which is that the Federal Government have the power, and ought to abolish slavery; by adding the "joint action of the State Governments," Mr. BLAIR evidently grants the States their own time and manner of abolishing slavery—postpones emancipation to the millennial period. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth propositions are reducible to two, that the climate of the United States, being in the temperate zone, is inimical to the constitution of the black man, and that the black free man and the white free man cannot live in the same territory on terms of political and economical equality.

Fortunately there are facts at hand which clearly demonstrate that neither of these propositions are true. And first in regard to the adaptability of the negro to the tropical climate.

Jamaica, one of the (uncoveted) Antilles, is within the tropics; the Southern States are within the temperate zone. Until 1834 Slavery was the condition common to the negro in both localities, and if Mr. BLAIR's proposition be true, then the negro slave in Jamaica should have possessed a stronger, more enduring constitution than the negro slave in the United States. The admitted test of adaptability of the human being to a given climate, is, his ratio of increase. If man increases in a given climate, and the increase be stout and healthy, he is adapted to that climate; but if he decrease, and would die out, then he is not adapted to that climate.

The slaves in Jamaica decreased at the rate of five per cent. per annum from 1792 to 1799. From 1799 to 1827 the decrease was so rapid that "half a century would have witnessed the total annihilation of the negro race in that island." (H. C. CAREY on the Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign, pp. 11, 12.)—A similar state of decrease is shown by the same writer to have taken place in all the British American slave colonies within the tropics.

The slaves in the United States, which, according to Mr. BLAIR's own statement are within the temperate zone, are shown by the census of the United States to have increased during the same periods at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum.

Here it is proven that under similar circumstances the temperate climate is better adapted to the negro constitution than the tropical climate.

Again, if we select North Carolina and Kentucky, the States in which the slave population and the white population have been least subjected to disturbing influences, we can ascertain the relative adaptability of the black man and the white man to a temperate climate, under circumstances if at all unlike, entirely favoring the white—the black being the slave, the white man, free. In North Carolina we find by Table V of its census in 1850, the following statement:

	Whites. In. per c't.	Slaves. In. per c't.
1800.....	17.19.....	32.53
1810.....	11.44.....	26.65
1820.....	11.36.....	21.43
1830.....	12.79.....	19.79
1840.....	2.54.....	0.03 (Cholera.)
1850.....	14.05.....	17.38
	69.37	117.86

From the same source, (census of United States, 1850,) we find that in Kentucky the following was the relative ratio of increase:

	Whites. In. per c't.	Slaves. In. per c't.
1810.....	80.26.....	99.69
1820.....	34.05.....	57.31
1830.....	19.12.....	30.36
1840.....	13.99.....	10.31
1850.....	28.99.....	15.75
	176.41	213.42

Let us make a like comparison in another State, the least disturbed of all by the internal slave trade, South Carolina:

	Whites. In. per c't.	Slaves. In. per c't.
1810.....	9.14.....	34.35
1820.....	10.85.....	31.62
1830.....	8.60.....	22.02
1840.....	0.47.....	3.68 (Cholera.)
1850.....	5.97.....	17.71 (Texas.)
	35.03	109.38

By adding, &c., we have the increase during fifty years:

Whites..... 280.41 | Slaves..... 440.66

Which demonstrates that the negro laborer, with the disadvantage of slavery, is one and a half times better adapted to the temperate climate than the white man living at ease, in the same climate. And by similar statistics it might easily be shown that the negro, even in slavery, is as well adapted to a temperate climate, as the free white laborer.

Mr. BLAIR's main proposition, therefore, is entirely untrue, and if there be any force in reason, then, according to his own views, the negro had better be set free and retained as a free laborer on the soil which he has fairly earned. These facts go one step further, they show conclusively that the negro is a unit of the great human race, increasing in numbers and vigor in that climate which is demonstrated to be the best for the human being.

But Mr. BLAIR adduces another proposition, not only is the climate incompatible for the negro, but the negro himself is incompatible with the white; the two races cannot live together as political and economical equals.—The one (the negro) must be an inferior caste subjected to the other.

A strange statement truly to be uttered within the precincts of Old Massachusetts! A ridiculous untruth to be spoken within gunshot of the spot where CRISPUS ATTUCKS led white men to the fray which began the American Revolution! A pitiful libel to publish in that State wherein of all other States the negro has crowned his common manhood by breaking down barrier after barrier of caste upheld by the most pertinacious energies of the "most exclusive" of the white races! In Ohio, in northern Illinois, and in California, the free negro has demonstrated also the perfect practicability of the *white neighbor* and the *black neighbor* living and flourishing side by side.

Having shown that the heart of his argument is false, it is hardly necessary to examine further Mr. BLAIR's conclusions. We have written thus much to uncover the hideous deformity enclosed in his apparently humane views. It is not our fault, if Anti-Slavery men are carried away by his specious sophistries. And if the Republican party triumph in 1860, we earnestly hope and pray, for its own sake, for the sake of the country, and for the sake of humanity, that it will first assume a higher level than this in regard to the black man whom the ordination of Providence has divinely placed in the midst of this



nation to be part and parcel of it forever if enfranchised, and to send it in a thousand fragments if much longer kept under the heel of oppression.

#### Kidnapping Sanctioned.

"FINLAY PARDONED.—Governor Morgan has pardoned his first culprit. James P. Finlay was arraigned for attempting to kidnap a child and carry it to Washington, and pleaded guilty. It was shown that he was an instrument, rather than an active operator in the matter."—[Eve. Post, (N. Y.), Jan. 20.]

"*Kidnapping Sanctioned*" would be a more fitting title to the above paragraph, which recites the last of a series of facts which vividly illustrate the difference between the crime of aiding a human being out from slavery, and the other crime of inveigling a human being into slavery, in these United States.

JAMES P. FINLAY, a young Canadian, about twenty-four years of age, went to New York on a "lark," about twelve months ago; he kept "high company," and soon expended what funds he had, and tired his wealthy relatives by the frequency of his calls for more. His resources being exhausted, he and his paramour (a dashing courtesan, born, brought up and educated in Connecticut) fell upon the following, we fear not novel nor unusual expedient to raise the wind:

In the house where they boarded (and from which they were expelled when their loose character was ascertained) was MARY TAYLOR, a colored hired girl, about thirteen years of age; FINLAY's woman ingratiated herself into the confidence of the girl and her mother, and obtained the consent of the latter to take the girl to Newark to live with a sister of the woman's, and promising, if the girl suited, to take a younger sister to the same lady at Newark, who wanted two hired girls to take care of her children.

Having obtained MARY TAYLOR, under these pretenses, FINLAY and his woman took passage for Washington direct, and were next day occupying apartments at Willard's Hotel.—FINLAY immediately sought a negro-trader, brought him to his room in the hotel, and negotiated the sale of MARY for six hundred dollars, cash. His woman and he had previously instructed the girl to say to the "gentleman," that she had been born and brought up in Maryland. The bargain being finished, and the "trader" about to go after the money, he casually asked the child "where she was raised?" MARY burst into tears, and said, "in New York, sir." To his great credit be it said, that he instantly went down stairs and informed Mr. WILLARD that there was a kidnapped girl up stairs in such a room. Mr. WILLARD at once secured the girl; FINLAY and his woman precipitately fled. Mr. WILLARD immediately telegraphed to the authorities in New York City; the police department soon hunted up the mother of the girl; the proper documents were sent on to Washington to prove the child's identity and freedom.

In the meantime, policeman BARRY, of the 14th Ward, offered to arrest the kidnappers, as he had traced their whereabouts, and knew they had no funds to leave their hiding place in Maryland. But to secure them required funds, which the State would not advance, but would repay in case of the capture. He applied to the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose representative, at 142 Nassau street, declined to interfere. He was

next directed to the office of the American Abolition Society, 48 Beekman street, where the funds were promptly furnished, mainly through the active exertions of LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., Rev. CHARLES B. RAY, and another, and the officer immediately went to Albany, procured a requisition from Gov. KING, and returning, started for Annapolis, accompanied with officer LUSK, from the same Ward. Sending LUSK on to Annapolis to obtain the warrant from the Governor, BARRY went to Elliott's Mills, where the culprits had secreted themselves. He went at once to the Post Office, stated the case to, and obtained a suit of old clothes from the postmaster, and within an hour, saw FINLAY come for a letter, and tracked him to his lodgings. Officer LUSK arrived in due time with the warrant, and FINLAY and his woman were handcuffed and brought on to New York City.

After a brief hearing of the case, Recorder BARNARD promptly committed FINLAY and his woman, for kidnapping, remarking that he hoped an example would be made of these culprits which should deter others from this heinous crime.

The prosecution of the case fell to acting District Attorney JOHN SEDGWICK, who had been engaged some years before in assisting JOHN JAY, Esq., in the defence of the fugitive HENRY LONG. Officer LUSK, who was active in hunting up the evidence, received a letter from the "trader," expressing his indignation at the crime, and his entire willingness to come on to New York and testify, if he could be protected from the public opprobrium which would be called down upon his calling. District Attorney SEDGWICK paid little or no heed to this witness, and when the trial came off in June, he suffered FINLAY to enter a plea of guilty, with the additional plea, that the other party, the woman, having acted under his direction, and being under his control, was not a confederate!

The Hon. RICHARD BUSTEED, the well paid corporation counsel of the city of New York—the BUSTEED who made himself infamous by prosecuting the above named case of the fugitive slave HENRY LONG, and slapped the face of Mr. JAY in open court, and afterwards declared with tears that he would never prosecute another fugitive case, giving twenty-five dollars to head a subscription to purchase LONG—BUSTEED arose as FINLAY's counsel, and alleged, in mitigation of punishment, "that FINLAY was a minor, was not sober when he kidnapped the girl, that he did it only in frolic, &c., &c., &c.," at each statement calling upon Mr. District Attorney SEDGWICK, who nodded assent.

Mr. Recorder BARNARD gave FINLAY, in consideration of these mitigating circumstances, the shortest punishment awarded by the statute—two years in the State Prison. And now, six months having elapsed, this FINLAY is pardoned out of prison, by Gov. MORGAN, on the plea that it was shown that he was an instrument rather than an active operator in the matter!

On the trial, FINLAY, his counsel BUSTEED, and the District Attorney JOHN SEDGWICK, affirmed that the woman was controlled by FINLAY; now, BUSTEED, FINLAY, and as usual in such cases, no doubt the acting District Attorney JOHN SEDGWICK, declare that FINLAY was controlled by some one else; and as there was no one else concerned, besides FINLAY and his woman, it follows that there must be in

this case what lawyers would call a "legal fiction," but which we prefer to designate by that emphatic monosyllable which DANIEL WEBSTER once fastened upon Mr. INGERSOLL; and deeply pained are we that the honored name of SEDGWICK should be mixed up in this shameful transaction.

Our late Governor KING, (who was not ashamed to speak in favor of equal suffrage in his Messages,) two common policemen, the Governor of slaveholding Maryland, and a postmaster in the same State, combine to bring before the majesty of our violated laws, criminals guilty of a crime to which Holy Writ affixes the highest penalty within the power of man to inflict, but our ministers of Justice, with the aid we fear of a too willing or too careless Executive, excuse the culprit on the ground of complicity in a frolic! Letting off the criminal with a punishment affixed to any unfortunate whom hunger might force to steal a loaf of bread! Is this any other thing, can it be shown to be anything less than "KIDNAPPING SANCTIONED?"

When has, or when will, if you call it mercy, when will mercy like this be awarded to a man in a Southern State who shall be convicted, even on his own confession, of aiding a slave to escape from slavery into freedom?

The old Scotch saying, "*It's a' yin (one) a hunder years hence*," is receiving a very pointed contradiction about these days.—When good Mrs. BURNS, on the 25th of January, 1759, first heard the unmusical utterances of "wee RABBIE," she could not have had the slightest suspicion, as he "*kicket*" and "*schreechit*," of the tremendous reverberation, in song, poesy, oratory, clinking of glasses, and shouts the world round and round, which that wee body, on that interesting occasion, would occasion "a hunder years hence." And yet, on second thoughts the motto may be true, it was "a' yin" a hundred years thereafter, it was "a' yin" shout, "a' yin" exclamation of pride and joy in the birth day of the Poet of the people.

DR. JAMES McCUNE SMITH.—This gentleman has often made us obliged to him, during the last ten years, for services to our common cause, and to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* as a means of promoting that cause. He has now much increased our obligations to him, by kindly consenting to write the Editorials for our paper during our five or six weeks' lecturing tour in the West. No man in this country more thoroughly understands the whole struggle between freedom and slavery, than does DR. SMITH, and his heart is as broad as his understanding. With Dr. SMITH in our Editorial columns, our paper will not only suffer no detriment, but will be decidedly improved.

H. W. Beecher's oration on Robert Burns, delivered to an immense audience on Monday evening, Jan. 24, before the New York Burns' Club, was a broad, generous and eloquent tribute to the unrivalled Scottish bard. Alluding to the fact that Burns, at one time, "as the last resort of a broken-down and discouraged man," resolved to go to Jamaica as overseer of a plantation, Mr. Beecher said, with a manner which imparted a noble emphasis to his word:—"I think I see Robert Burns on a plantation, with his whip under his arm; I think I see Robert Burns following a gang of slaves, and chanting, 'A man's a man for a' that.'

But he was not so bad as that yet." Hearty applause followed this allusion.



### Thomas L. Jennings.

DIED—At his residence in the city of New York, Feb. 11th, in the 68th year of his age, Mr. THOMAS L. JENNINGS.

Mr. JENNINGS was a native of New York, and in his early youth was one of the bold men of color who, in this then slave State, paraded the streets of the metropolis with a banner inscribed with the figure of a black man, and the words "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?" He was one of the colored volunteers who aided in digging trenches on Long Island in the war of 1812. He took a leading part in the celebration of the abolition of slavery in New York in 1827. He was one of the founders of the Wilberforce Society. When in 1830 WM. LLOYD GARRISON came on from Baltimore, Mr. JENNINGS was among the colored men of New York, WM. HAMILTON, Rev. PETER WILLIAMS, THOMAS SIPKINS, and others, who gave him a cordial welcome and God-speed, and subscribed largely to establish the *Liberator*, and to aid in the publication of "Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization."

He was an actor in the great meeting in Chatham Street Chapel. He was a leading member of the first, second and third of the National Conventions of colored men of the United States, held in New York and Philadelphia in 1831-4. He was one of the originators of the Legal Rights' Association in New York City, and President thereof at the time of his death. His suit against the Third Avenue Railroad Company for ejecting his daughter from one of its cars on Sabbath day, led to the abolition of caste in cars in four out of the five city railroads. He was one of the founders, and during many years a trustee of the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

In his boyhood, Mr. JENNINGS served an apprenticeship with one of the most celebrated of the New York tailors. Soon after reaching manhood, he entered business on his own account, and invented a method of renovating garments, for which he obtained letters patent from the United States. Although it was well known that he was a black man of "African descent," these letters recognize him as a "citizen of the United States." This document, in an antique gilded frame, hangs above the bed in which Mr. JENNINGS breathed his last, and is signed by the historic names of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and WILLIAM WIRT, and bears the broad seal of the United States of America.

For many years Mr. JENNINGS conducted a successful business as Clothier, in Nassau and Chatham streets.

Mr. JENNINGS had a large family, whom he educated carefully and successfully, both in intellectual and moral training. He taught all his children some useful trade, and accustomed them betimes to rely on themselves for their support. His son WILLIAM died twenty years ago, a successful business man, in Boston; THOMAS was, until lately, one of the most skillful dentists in New Orleans; his daughters, MATILDA is one of the best dress makers in New York City, and LUCY the most learned of our female teachers in the city of New York, having obtained, mainly through her own labor, the honor of a Diploma from the Board of Education of said city.

This is a noble picture of a noble man.—Born in a slave State, and of the race held in slavery, living in the midst of all the crushing influences which human prejudice and caste could heap upon him, he yet fulfilled all the

purposes of an upright man, a useful citizen, and a devoted Christian; on no occasion in his long life did he bate one hair's breadth of the rights and dignities pertaining to his manhood. He upheld society by an active, earnest and blameless life, and by contributing thereto children carefully trained to conduce to the general good. Not gifted with extraordinary talents or endowments, he made full use of such as it had pleased God to give him.

Mr. JENNINGS was one of that large class of earnest upright colored men who dwell in our large cities. He was not an exception, but a representative of this class whose noble sacrifices, and unheralded labors are too little known to the public, even to the real friends of freedom, the class of whom even our honest friend GERRIT SMITH has written, that "the mass of them are ignorant and thriftless." It is a strange ignorance which is manifested by the attendance of 25 per cent. more of colored than of white children in the Public Schools of New York City; a strange thriftlessness which shows a smaller proportion of colored than of white persons supported at the Alms-Houses and other charities in New York and Philadelphia. We know that in making such statement, Mr. SMITH reluctantly wrote what he believed to be the truth; his view, however, was syllogistic rather than the result of a study of the facts: "while there are a few noble exceptions," said he, "the mass of the blacks are ignorant and thriftless."—And he reasoned thus, "the mass of the blacks are poor, and live in the large cities; all poor who crowd large cities are ignorant and thriftless; therefore," &c., &c.

Now the facts happen to be, that, of the free blacks of the free States, a little more than one-third live in the large cities, and the portion who do live in large cities have more wealth (general) and larger intelligence than the proportion who live in the country. We are not defending city dwelling on the part of this class—we state facts. And, in view of them, and while we proudly cast our mite on the cairn of THOMAS L. JENNINGS, we call upon the Hon. GERRIT SMITH, in the name of our departed brother, to wipe off the stigma which he has cast upon him and his like, by withdrawing, as publicly as he made it, his unfortunate statement in regard to the mass of the blacks.

POSTPONEMENT.—The ladies of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society would announce to their friends and the public, that, by advices from abroad, they are informed that the boxes destined for the Rochester Bazaar will not arrive in time for the sale to take place, as heretofore advertised, (the 22d Feb.) and it will be delayed until some time in March, when they hope to have an unusually large and attractive stock of goods from England, Scotland and Ireland, and when they trust the friends at home will give them cordial aid and support. By order of the Society.

A. M. C. BARNES, Sec'y.

The politicians and political tricksters, who made themselves very merry over GERRIT SMITH's going to bed early, seem to have forgotten, what they will discover ere long—that he is an early riser.

Another slaver, the bark Ottawa, has left Mobile, ostensibly for St. Thomas, but it is believed that her destination is the southern coast of Africa.

### A Negro Excitement at Rio Janeiro—Americans Implicated.

The following is an extract from a private letter, dated Rio Janeiro, December 20, received by a gentleman of this city, and published in the *Courier* of this morning:

"We have had quite an excitement here for a day or two. Two days since, while the agent at one of the stations of the San Pedro Railroad was paying off the hands, one of them, a free negro, wanted to be paid before his time, and on being refused grew so insolent that the agent took him by the shoulder and shoved him out of the office. He went away swearing that he would have revenge, and the next day he came into the office while the agent was writing and did not see him, and knocked him senseless with a club. An American who was in the office, immediately drew his revolver and shot at him, but, unfortunately, missed him. He was caught, however, and the Americans present tied him to a tree and gave him one hundred lashes. He then made a complaint as soon as he was released, and a company of fifty-soldiers were sent to take the Americans who had flogged the negro, but they would not be taken.—Then another company was sent up, but they could not take them either. The Americans had shut themselves up, and, being well provided with arms and ammunition, declared their intention to die rather than allow themselves to be made prisoners. They were willing, they said, to go to the city, and submit to the proper authorities, with the American Minister for an advocate; but they would not allow one of their countrymen to be knocked in the head, and themselves taken prisoners, for whipping his assailant. So the matter stands. The government do not seem to be inclined to prosecute the matter, and we have every assurance that it will be quietly settled. Those who know the negroes in this country, say that those who whipped him will certainly be assassinated."—*N. Y. Evening Post*, Feb. 12.

This is too bad. Only think of it. Sovereign American citizens obliged to coop themselves up, with arms and ammunition, (nothing is said about provisions,) for simply exercising their right to give a hundred lashes to a negro, whose rights "no white man is bound to respect!" The government which sent a file of soldiers to arrest these American citizens, will meet its just deserts. It has dared to violate the constitution of the United States! It has insulted the omnipresent majesty of our great Republic! And the negro who dared club a white man who insulted him, where are his hands, where his head, or, to use a Southern phrase, "where is his grave?"

We presume our patriotic President will immediately "shut one eye (the small one) upon it," and order the entire disposable force of the United States straight down to Rio to avenge the insulting majesty of our slaveocracy. And then the threatened assassination of the American citizens who inflicted a hundred lashes on the crown-cracking black, can this be permitted? Where are the thirty millions? Can't Mr. BUCHANAN offer two hundred and fifty dollars reward to catch these assassins?

The Rev. HENRY H. GARNETT is now delivering a course of lectures to the young, on Sunday evenings, at his church in New York city. The earnest, eloquent and attractive discourses are listened to by large crowds of the class for whom they are intended. We hope Mr. GARNETT will prepare these lectures for the press; they will do great good, and it is time he put on record for the future "the thoughts which breathe and words that burn" so fervidly in the present.



**Equal Suffrage or Equal School Rights.**

"What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." There is no concealing the fact that the colored people of this State, however anxious they may be to obtain Equal Suffrage, do not show this anxiety at this moment by energetic action. Not only so, they manifest an inertia in regard to the matter, which, charm they never so wisely, the leaders seem unable to overcome. Is it wise, when they seem incapable of being roused on this question—is it wise, when even if they could be roused they would in all human probability effect nothing in the next five or six years—is it wise, we ask, to refrain from urging our people to act upon another question of rights not second in importance to the Suffrage question?

We are not utterly denied the right to vote; we are, if we choose, a power in the State, with two hundred and fifty dollars worth of real estate, we being the judge of value, we can vote. But, with twenty thousand dollars worth of real estate, with our school tax paid in, our children are excluded from the common schools which our monies help sustain.

Surely there can be no harm at this time in comparing school rights with Suffrage Rights.

1. There are 13,675 colored men above 21 years of age in the State of New York, while there are 15,778 colored children of school-going age. Contact on equal terms is the best means to abolish caste: *it is caste abolished*. With Equal Suffrage, 13,675 black men come in contact on equal terms, for ten minutes once a year, at the polls; with equal school rights 15,778 colored children and youth come in contact on equal terms with white children and youth, three hundred days in the year, and from six to ten hours each day. And these children, in a few years, become the people of the State.

2. The nature of the contact, as a caste abolisher, is altogether in favor of the school contact: compare the craft, the excitement, the repulsions of election day with the candor, the freedom and the attractions of the school-house and play-grounds.

3. If we obtain Equal Suffrage, equal school rights yet remains to be struggled for against the will of the party we may vote against. If we obtain equal school rights, the boon will be so radical that Equal Suffrage will follow as a matter of course. In Massachusetts, after fifty years enjoyment of Equal Suffrage, caste in schools cost a struggle which engaged the best energies of NELL, PHILLIPS, GARRISON and the friends of Freedom. In Rhode Island, after nearly twenty years of Equal Suffrage, it requires a stout and manful battle on the part of colored Rhode Islanders, led by GEORGE T. DOWNING, to obtain even a fair prospect of equal school rights.

4. We can rouse up our people to act on the school question, whilst we cannot induce them to act on the Suffrage question. We can, by our own will and energy, reach immediate results on the school question, whilst we must depend upon others—politicians at that—to do anything in the Suffrage question. And the very energy we bring out on the school question, when crowned with the warmth of triumph, may be successfully devoted to the Suffrage question.

The New York *Journal of Commerce* says that one hundred colored people of that city contemplate leaving for Africa in the Spring.

**Acquisition of Cuba.**

Senatorial gladiators are playing with foils at Washington in the matter of the acquisition of Cuba. Armed with wire masks and well buttoned skewers, carefully covering hand and wrist, they feint and thrust in a manner truly edifying to the beholder. Mr. SLIDELL, safely encased in Presidential jerkin, (better than Russia leather,) is the mannikin who takes the punishment from all comers—or, rather appears to take punishment, for with all the flourish of weapons, and stamping of feet, and cries of "hit," no one seems to aim a fair blow at him nor the monstrous enormity which he dares present.

There are gentlemen who exclaim the "pear is not ripe," "the egg is not quite ready to hatch," or "the opportunity is not favorable," but sad to say, in the United States Senate, there is no man bold enough to thunder "thou shalt not covet," no man honest enough to exclaim "thou shalt not steal."

Surely this talk about the acquisition of Cuba, is nothing other than a talk about stealing Cuba. To steal, is to take away from one his property without his consent. Spain refused, ten years ago, to sell Cuba, and pending this very debate, and part of it, comes into our Senate chamber a re-iteration of that refusal, uttered within thirty days in the Spanish Cortez, with all the force and earnestness of national authority; yet our Senators, with brazen effrontery, carry on their discussion, jangling and higgling about the cost and risks of the proposed robbery, and of the dangerous trust of thirty millions in the President's hands, but never a word about the moral enormity of the contemplated theft.

The same moral insensibility appears to penetrate the press. The *Tribune* publishes SEWARD'S speech as equal to the occasion, whilst that speech never names, and barely alludes to the injustice of the act. The *Evening Post* takes Mr. SEWARD to task for failing to state that the thirty millions of dollars are wanted not for the purchase of Cuba, but for election expenses in 1860. But these journals, either of which would denounce in strong language the pilfering of an idea or a paragraph from its columns, are strongly insensible to the bold audacity which, in time of peace, proposes to snatch from the Spanish crown its costliest jewel.

Thus we slide by easy gradations along the downward path, leaving it only a question of time, as to when we will reach the point at which all Christendom shall rise up and pronounce us an enemy to the human race.

John Mitchell is angered at the presumption of President Benson of Liberia, in expressing himself rather strongly on the slave trade, and in stating his "fixed principles" in regard to dealing with French "emigrant" agents. The discontented Irishman says:—"Worthy President! Your principles would be much better fixed if you were on our plantation in Alabama." We do not wonder the South became disgusted with this poor specimen of Irish humanity, and starved him out. A little wholesome experience as a plantation hand would not come amiss to John, as he is not capable of self-government.

The colored citizens of Springfield, Mass., have sent in a complaint to the City Council, that their names are not found on the jury list, and expressing a desire to serve their country by doing jury duty.

Do not the authorities, the tyrannies as we call them, of the old world make a gross mistake in curbing the "Freedom of the Press?" Our "American example," as Mr. WEBSTER called it, proves very clearly that the grossest acts of tyranny can be carried out successfully in a country where newspapers are as plenty as flakes of snow in a January storm. We rather think the newspapers *aid* rather than *impede* the tread of despotism with us. Had there been as many newspapers, with as many able editors, receiving as much Government support, in 1774-5 and '76, in these colonies, the "Boston tea party" would have "gone the rounds" as a "black Republican outrage" on the laws of the land; and CRISPUS ATTUCKS would have been held up to public scorn as an "impudent negro" who dared strike a white man!

We throw out these suggestions as a hint to some of our editors who may covet European fame; they may do a good thing for LOUIS NAPOLEON and the Emperors of Austria and Prussia, and make a nice penny, to say nothing of fame, by demonstrating the safety and certainty of a "free press," as the best means to uphold tyranny. At any new piece of despotism, if the people only get "early and accurate information," they may "Oh!" and "Oh!" and "it's a shame!" or even "cuss a little," but they will never think of taking up arms nor building barricades.

Our brethren in Ohio took a step in the right direction, in organizing themselves into a State Anti-Slavery Association. It is right, because it embraces the slave in the field of labor which they enter upon in seeking their own rights. We have too long, perhaps too selfishly held colored conventions for the advancement of the free colored people. In assuming broader grounds and more arduous labor, greater energy and more catholic principles must be developed; it is like the Temperance movement, advancing from moderate drinking to total abstinence. In taking up Anti-Slavery work our brethren assume the task which, as a devoted friend of humanity has said, belongs especially to the free blacks. It is our work, let us do it.

We trust that our New York and Pennsylvania brethren will follow this good example. There is special work at this moment ready to our hands. A Liberty Bill is before the Legislature. The Massachusetts Abolitionists have sounded the tocsin in our Capital. Let us emulate their labor by holding meetings and pouring in petitions urging our Legislature to make New York a State so free, that it shall no longer be, even theoretically, the hunting ground for fugitive slaves.

**PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.**—The following petition has been referred to a committee, in the Assembly, and a bill in accordance with its prayer will probably be reported soon:

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:

The undersigned, citizens of the State of New York, respectfully ask you to enact that no person, who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes "service or labor" to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union.

It is important that the will of the people on this subject should be promptly signified to the Legislature, and copies of this petition should be circulated at once in every school district of the State.



## LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD.

NUMBER LXIII.

HAVERSTOCK HILL, Dec. 31st, 1858.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I can scarcely realize the fact that twelvemonths have rolled away since, from the town of "bonnie Dundee," I sent you last old year's scribble—yet so it is, and in a few hours we shall be called on to part company with our good old friend, year 1858. We may, even now, prepare to chaunt his "midnight mass;" for his doom is sealed—he must die. Alone he pursues his solitary march onward—he neither turns back, nor stands still—he looks not to the right, nor to the left—he cares not whether we are glad or sorry at his departure—whether he leaves us a legacy of joy or sorrow, of hope or despair—his course is unchangeably and steadily forward. In vain some of us poor mortals have bade him pause awhile, and not so soon convert present happiness into the pleasures of memory; alike in vain have others among us (impatient of the weariness of life) woo'd the old year to let us bear him company, and to take us with him into that unknown "bourne whence no traveler returns;" he heeds no supplications, no murmurings; he has done his appointed work, no more, no less; he has never been for a moment idle, and throughout his life he has made no mistake, and now his last night is coming on, when he can work no more. We all watch his end with great interest, and look longingly, wishfully after him, as he noiselessly glides through those mysterious gates that separate Time from Eternity, and is seen no more.

Old year's night in England is a time of great festivity. There are, probably, more evening parties given *this* night, than any night throughout the year. The *few* take a sober view of the season, and give themselves to meditation and prayer; the *many* make it an especial season for mirth and social enjoyment, and the new year is ushered in with hilarity and gladness. *Hope* is, for a time, in the ascendant, as people hope for themselves and gaily wish their neighbors "a happy new year." But I must bear in mind that before these lines meet the eyes of my trans-Atlantic and British friends, the *infancy* of our forthcoming year 1859 will be passing away into early childhood, and they will have ceased their rejoicing at its birth.

New year's good wishes will long have ceased to be heard in our streets; yet I must add my quota to the friendly greetings, and most sincerely wish you, my dear friends, your readers, and all my friends, on both sides the ocean, a happy new year. This is a season for forming good resolutions, as well as for making plans for future work. I trust that the faithful friends of the slave will "remember those in bonds," and resolve (with the blessing of God) to labor even *more diligently* in time to come, than they have in time past. Dear friends, the anti-slavery ranks are thinning; "friend after friend departs;" gaps are made in the little army that cannot be filled up—for *who* can *worthily* fill the places of the Hon. WILLIAM JAY, or of JOHN N. WILDER, Esq.?

*Who* can be a worthy successor to that truly excellent, able, Christian man, our valued friend, Rev. WM. WATKINS? What minister of Christ will stand forward, *bold* and *fearless* in the right, to supply the blank made

by the much lamented death of the Rev. DUDLEY TYNG? These noble, Christian men are gone to their reward; doubtless, our loss is their gain—but we are apt to think we can *ill* spare all such, and that the poor, oppressed slave can *still less* spare them from his little band of true-hearted allies. "God's ways are not as our ways; nor His thoughts as our thoughts;" and though, at present, there seems much that is mysterious in the removal, from peculiar spheres of usefulness and labor, of some of the excellent ones of the earth, what we see not *now*, in all this, we shall see by and by, and in the light of Eternity will the "*ways*" (to us finite beings, now "unsearchable and past finding out") of INFINITE wisdom be clearly revealed.

It behoves each one of us, meanwhile, to strive to follow in the footsteps of those mourned ones, who are "not lost, but gone before." Let us

"Act, act in the living Present,  
Heart within, and God o'erhead!  
Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footsteps on the sands of time."

None of us can tell *how soon* "the night" may come, "when no man can work;" "let us then be up and doing," and let us resolve anew that while God gives us health and strength, we will not forget to labor in behalf of our colored brothers and sisters, those *poor, captive exiles*, who "*haste to be loosed, that they may not die in the pit.*"

I should *doubly* lament over my own shortcomings, in the way of anti-slavery work, during the past year, (arising, as most of my friends know, from serious illness, and consequent total prostration of bodily strength and mental energy,) but that I have the satisfaction of knowing how diligently and successfully some of my dear and much valued co-operating friends worked, in this important cause, while they were urging me to further "rest"—may Heaven bless them all!

It was with no small regret that I gave up my intention of being with my kind Dublin friends at the time of their anti-slavery Bazaar. Several recent letters from them inform me what an elegant and imposing appearance the great room of the Rotunda presented on the 17th of December. The numerous beautiful devices and mottoes were executed by my clever, active and zealous friends, the Misses Warwick and Webb, and most appropriate they seem to have been. Opposite a grand "IRELAND," (the letters of which were, I am told, two feet in height,) was a large motto, finely executed by Miss Warwick, "Remember them that are in bonds," &c.—the word "bonds" being formed by links. I wish I had been on the spot; then I would have sent you a full and particular account of this beautiful anti-slavery demonstration, made by our warm hearted Hibernian friends in their metropolis on behalf of the slave. I trust, however, that an account of the Bazaar has been sent you for publication. Need I say that that old and faithful friend of the oppressed, Mrs. WILLIAM WEBB, and her untiring coadjutor, Mrs. STUDDERT, have been the moving spirits in this matter? These excellent Christian ladies never seem to grow "weary in well doing"—"their reward is sure."

My pleasant visits in the West Riding were only marred by severe influenza, which came on soon after the Halifax Bazaar, and has

many times during the last two months made me a close prisoner. On my way South, I had the gratification of being present at the annual meeting of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society. The assemblage, though small, was earnest, and the address there given by my esteemed friend, Rev. R. W. DALE, (co-pastor of Rev. JOHN ANGEL JAMES,) was admirable. Mr. Dale has not only a "heart to feel for others' woes," but he is *thoroughly read up* on the slavery subject. The Society in Birmingham should flourish under his banner, and I hope it will. Our friends in that quarter must not be discouraged. We have to bear in mind that a venerable Society—an elder sister—the oldest "*Negroes' Friend*" in England, was born in Birmingham many years ago, and has long dwelt there. Numerous old and staunch friends of the slave are members of this Society. After laboring diligently for West Indian Emancipation, these friends work for the support of schools in the West Indies, and no true friend of the negro would desire one subscription to fall off from that excellent association, even were it to be given to the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, which latter Society is established expressly to aid the friends of the cause laboring in the U. S., and the fugitive slaves as they flee to Canada.

Then again, there is in some circles of this town, (as in all manufacturing towns where there is much *American* trade,) great deadness and indifference to the wrongs of slavery, and an entire *disinclination* to giving subscriptions for such an object as the slave's freedom. Some of these worthy manufacturers have, perchance, been visited by Scions of Southern chivalry, (for whom they have made bowie knives or revolvers!) or by New York merchants, who are *peculiarly* interested on the side of slavery; and these men beguile our men of business with stories about the incapacity of the negro, his utter incapability to take care of himself, the exceeding kindness of certain portions of the *superior race* in taking care of these incapable people, appertaining to the *inferior race*! and so our people (some of them who have no time to read on the subject) become deluded, think an anti-slavery society is a very dangerous, incendiary think! and set their face as a flint, and steel their hearts when asked for a subscription to aid the slave! Several years since, I and a friend of mine encountered a *South Carolinian* at the counting-house of a leading manufacturer. The latter gave us a subscription (*not his name*) after the former had departed; and if some of the leading houses in Birmingham refuse to aid the Anti-Slavery Society there, we must not be surprised, nor discouraged, but

"Learn to labor and to wait."

A brief but pleasant intercourse with my kind friends in Birmingham (Mr. and Mrs. E. Sturge inclusive) was followed by a delightful visit to our dear friends at Sherbourne House, Coventry, and an agreeable meeting with the anti-slavery organization which was partly formed there two years ago, and which is now, I trust, wholly inaugurated. Often, during my sojourn at Coventry, you were spoken of, always with a kindly interest, coupled with the hope that one day you may again be welcomed to the home and hearts of your friends there and elsewhere in this country. Both in Birmingham and Coventry donations were handed me in behalf of the slave, which I gladly received and shall gladly forward. Do-



nations from the Clogher Society met me in Coventry, from the hand of that indefatigable friend of the slave, Mrs. Waring Maxwell.—To all the Societies and friends who have contributed, through me, during the past year, I feel (on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves) most grateful; and to all I beg to say that I shall have as much pleasure in forwarding their respective donations to the States, in time to come, as in time past, and also in attending to the numerous communications with which they favor me.

Among the numerous popular Societies of the present day, in our little island, none, I am inclined to believe, are doing so much good as the "Young Men's Christian Associations." These are scattered far and wide over the country, but the *parent* Society is in London, and on Tuesday evening I attended a *Conversazione* of this parent Society held at the City of London Institution. I was most agreeably surprised at the admirable manner in which the whole proceedings were conducted, and at the interest imparted to every part of the entertainment. A capital lecture was delivered by Dr. Pettigrew, on *Anæsthetics, or Insensibility to Pain*—then we had a fine selection of music, well performed, by vocalists from St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster—they gave us some delicious music from Handel, Mendelssohn and Bishop, and quite enchanted us with their performance of that far famed Quintett by Webbe, "when winds breathe soft."

I cannot attempt to tell you of the wondrous exhibition of Microscopes, Stereoscopes, Gyroscopes, Kaleidoscopes, &c., that met our view, nor of the greater wonders some of this almost miraculous and exquisitely minute machinery revealed to us. Verily, this is an age of miracles as regards discoveries in science! there seems no limit *but*—the *finite* nature of man. Time fails to tell of what I saw and heard; one microscope shewed me the Lord's prayer, written on glass, with the point of a diamond; I read every letter with ease, and it *appeared* to occupy a cent about the size of a crown piece; but in reality the little piece of glass on which the characters were traced, was not the *twentieth* part of the size of your *five cent* pieces—the writing having been reduced (by some machinery *more* miraculous than spirit-rapping!) *six thousand times!* to a minuteness which reduced the height of the letters to the *two thousand five hundredth* part of an inch! A portrait of our good Queen Victoria was exhibited, small and choice, being composed of *eleven hundred and fourteen diamonds!* But "the hailing garments of the night" are in view—the "gloamin" is here already, and I must say farewell once more—assuring you that I remain, now and always,

Your faithful friend,

JULIA GRIFFITHS.

The Evening Post's Washington correspondent tells a good saying by Thaddeus Stevens, the Republican representative elect from Mr. Buchanan's district:—"A gentleman was referring, in presence of Thad. Stevens, to the possibility of Mr. Buchanan's turning against the South for the purpose of retrieving his lost fortune in Pennsylvania, and asked Mr. Stevens what he thought would be the result. Mr. S. replied that there would be no trouble about that, as the South could reclaim him any time under the Fugitive Slave Law! The inquirer seemed perfectly satisfied."

### The Late Judson J. Hutchinson.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I saw in your columns of Jan. 14 an account of the death of Judson J. Hutchinson at Lynn, Mass., copied from The New York *Evening Post*. The author of the article evidently has little sympathy with the noble character and life of the deceased, and was grossly ignorant of the facts relating to Mr. Hutchinson and his family.

As I have known that unrivaled band of singers, and as I know the character of Judson, allow me to say a few words by way of correction of the errors of the writer in *The Evening Post*.

It is true that the original band of singers consisted of Judson, John, Asa and Abby.—It is also true that Abby married a worthy gentleman of your city, and has for several years past, with, perhaps, a single exception, remained in private life.

The three brothers, however, have continued to give concerts all over the Free States since the marriage of their sister; and their great popularity has continued to the present time.

In the tumultuous times in which we live, when slavery overrides everything of truth and honor; when clergy and churches, theological and literary institutions; authors, editors, the press generally; the courts of law, Jurors and Judges, one of the great parties; the United States Government and all its tens of thousands of leeches—have, with a meanness beyond the power of language to utter, groveled in the dust before the Slave Power—this band of singers (poor and unknown at first) have refused to bow the neck, and nobly, year after year, passed through our tyrant-ridden land, thrilling the hearts of the people with their songs of Freedom.

It is a belief entertained by many millions that God *sends the man to meet the hour*. If so, then the Hutchinsons had a mission to perform, and nobly have they performed it; and the effects of their labors in softening the hearts of those who had little but scorn for the slave and contempt for the poor and fallen, is plainly visible all over the land. In proof of this I would cite the universal anathemas heaped upon them during the last Presidential canvass by the Democratic press all over the country.

While "Negro Minstrels" and others have tramped the land, leaving behind them a trail of moral slime to poison not only the taste but the morals of the community, this "band of brothers from the old Granite State" have, with a power and pathos never equaled by any other company of singers, awakened in the people all that was noble in human nature, and therefore always left their hearers better than they found them.

Faults they have, indeed, but cowardice is not one of them; for again and again, when in Philadelphia and other cities, the friends of slavery have threatened to mob them if they persisted in singing their anti-slavery songs, they have either faced the mob, or given up their concerts at a great pecuniary sacrifice.

Milford, N. H., is their birthplace, but Lynn, Mass., has been the home of a portion of the family for several years, and they have pleasant residences at High Rock.

They have never been to California, but Jesse Hutchinson, their brother and former agent, went to California a few years since, and died at Cincinnati on his way home. He is the author of many beautiful songs—among them the "Bereaved Slave Mother."

The Hutchinsons visited England several years since, and won golden opinions there.—They sang at the great musical festival, where were gathered the famous singers of all nations, and were present when the old veteran Braham rolled out again his trumpet tones.—In that great gathering, our country was well represented by her minstrels, "the Hutchinsons."

But a word of poor Judson. Never in human breast beat a better heart than his. For several years past his mental powers have been affected, and he has once been an inmate of an insane asylum. His keenly strung nature could ill bear the constant jars of life, and the great fatigue consequent upon his life of travel

and excitement wore down a constitution never very strong. Pure in heart and life, the cruelties and wrongs he daily saw, and which he so pathetically sung, became to him a source of torment. His health has gradually failed, and for several years past so shattered has been his nervous system that life had become an intolerable burden; and his rash act can hardly excite surprise in those who knew him intimately.

Never more shall the poor slave's wrongs be uttered by him, nor the blood leap along the veins as he calls the freeman of the North to duty; never again will our eyes be wet as he renders the touching ballad of Thos. Hood:

"Mad from life's history,  
Glad to death's mystery,  
Swift to be hurled—  
Anywhere, anywhere,  
Out of the world!"

the sweet voice which has so often stirred the depths of human compassion as he sang of human woe is silent for ever, but his memory will never pass away from the records of the people, and when the gigantic systems of crime, which now overshadow the land are laid low in the coming years, our children's children shall be told of that "band of singers," who in a corrupt age, rose superior to the temptations around them, and who nobly fulfilled at the hour when freedom most needed their services, there high mission in her behalf, and the poor wearied one who is now laid at rest shall be remembered with gratitude and affection by the emancipated slave, and by the lovers of humanity the wide-world over. Would to God that all who live might as well discharge their duty to their race as Judson J. Hutchinson.

G. W. P.

PETERBORO, N. Y., Jan. 16, 1859.

Judson Hutchinson, just previous to his suicidal end, had finished a new house, costing \$5,000, a few feet from that previously built and occupied by the brothers on High Rock, Lynn. The supposition that he was insane is strongly corroborated by his last words, which were written on a box made by one of his nephews, and were as follows:

"This is Henry's box—  
It caused him many knocks;  
I would say the box cover,  
The box to cover over,  
He made it with his tools.  
He is not one of the fools  
That goes without any rules,  
Like me, one of the mules."

**LARGE FUNERAL PROCESSION.**—About the largest funeral procession we have ever seen, marched to the cemetery on Sunday with the remains of Isaac Hadley, a colored Methodist preacher of high standing and great popularity among his brethren. We stood at the head of the cortege, upon the hill, near the graveyard, fully three-quarters of a mile from Broad street, on Summer, and the carriages were still coming into the latter. We counted one hundred and seventy-six men on foot, double file, followed by fifty-six carriages and nine buggies, containing two or three hundred men and women. A more orderly procession we never saw. But those forming it contained only a part of the vast number who went to the cemetery by the various streets leading in that direction. Isaac Hadley was a model servant, an honest man and a christian.—*Nashville Banner*.

**MR. DOUGLASS' LECTURE.**—The lecture of our townsman Frederick Douglass before the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, last evening proved to be one of unusual merit. The subject, "Self-Made Men," was handled philosophically, and of course reasonably. The audience also had the facts presented before them, of Self-Made Manhood, in the person of the speaker—a living example of the precepts presented is Mr. Douglass himself. The lecture was abundant in thought, beautifully clad, and the flashes of humor were sufficiently frequent to give a spicy variety to the whole.—*Evening Times*.

A free negro, convicted at Easton, Md., of larceny, has been sold as a slave for twenty-five years' service, for \$138.75.



## FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN CHICAGO.

CHICAGO, Feb. 3d, 1859.

On Tuesday evening, the 1st inst., a formal reception was given to Frederick Douglass, by the citizens of Chicago. Mr. Douglass arrived here about noon, and was taken to the private residence of John Jones, Esq., where he was waited on in the evening by a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen: H. O. Wagoner, J. B. Dawson, H. Bradford, J. F. Platt, George Lee, W. H. Stanley, W. I. Crummell, and E. C. Freeman, who escorted him to the A. M. E. Church on Jackson Street. The house was filled to its utmost capacity by both white and colored citizens. Mr. Douglass made his appearance on the platform accompanied by H. O. Wagoner, who addressed him as follows:

My brother, I have been selected by my fellow-citizens, to tender to you the hospitalities of the city, and to give you a hearty welcome to our homes and firesides. We regard this as a fit and proper occasion to express to you our gratitude, and to indicate our appreciation of your long and arduous services in defence of our common oppression. Unlike that other great name, who was born, reared and educated in an enlightened society, surrounded by numerous and kind friends, thus furnishing his mind with every facility necessary to the development of his natural powers. With such surroundings and conditions for unfolding his future, no wonder his aspirations, and the coruscations of his genius are dazzling and bewildering his political associates. But you, my brother, have come to us under far different circumstances. Born away down in the deep, dark valley and shadow of slavery, with no kind friends to aid you, in word or deed, separated from an affectionate mother, whose form and face, doubtless, sank deep into your youthful heart, and though many years have rolled by, still, at times, when your mind recurs, you can imagine you see her as she last appeared to you. Nor had you the privilege of a recognition of your earthly father, as such. No common schools to which you could go, where the young idea learns to shoot—surrounded by no enlightened society from which you could catch a ray of light; but all was dark and gloomy—nor was this all, still fettered for three long years by *sincere* and *earnest*, though impracticable prayer of mere words, imbibed by the teachings of a false theology, which came to you from the stereotyped notions of the past. But all these incumbrances could not hold you down; aye, in spite of them all, you burst the double bands of physical and mental slavery, and came forth a man, ever asserting the great principle of Liberty implanted in the mind of every man, by the voice and power of the great God.—Having thus escaped from slavery, you were not to be contented with mere freedom of the physical body. At this period, the freedom of your thoughts began to press for utterance; and so you entered upon the great work of first developing your own higher faculties, and then engaged earnestly in the life long business of laboring for the elevation and final redemption of our prostrate and bleeding people. In this noble work you have spent years of toil; and for the sake of sustaining our paper, have sacrificed much of your own private means. It is, indeed, the only paper which we can emphatically call *ours*; for among the many news papers started in this country by colored men, none but *Frederick Douglass' Paper* have thus far succeeded. And now, my brother, and fellow-citizens, the question arises, and appeals directly to you, *shall Frederick Douglass' Paper be sustained?*—It should be sustained because it is doing a great and noble work in demonstrating the capacity of the negro and colored man for freedom and self-government, as well as gaining for them a recognition of their manhood. We believe that circumstances warrant us in saying that you have done more for the elevation of the negro and colored man in this country, than any other colored man in it. And now, my brother, in conclusion let me say that in the present, as in the past, our deepest feel-

ings and sympathies are with you, and, I trust, will be with you to end

"In the evil days before us,  
And trials yet to come,  
In the shadow of the prison,  
Or the cruel martyrdom,  
We will think of thee, oh! brother,  
And thy sainted name shall be,  
In the blessing of the captive,  
And the anthem of the free."

And now, my brother, as we know you must be fatigued, from having traveled all last night, and therefore need repose, we will only desire you at this time, to give us a little plain talk by way of counsel and advice.

Mr. Douglass then moved forward and said we have had no lack of advisers. All have been advised so much, until we have had almost too much advice. We have been advised by some to *do this* and *do that*, to go here and go there, finally, we have been advised to go clear out of the country. Now, all this sort of advice, tends greatly to unsettle us.—If I were old enough to advise, said he, I would advise you to remain in this country, as I know of no better country to which you could go, and better your condition. He then went on in a mild, happy, and effective manner to contrast the various phases, changes and progress, which the anti-slavery cause had, made in the last twenty years, thereby showing that with all the difficulty which still surround us, we have many reasons to be hopeful, and to labor for the future. He advised the young men to save their money, to get married and settle down, and assume the responsibility of taking care of families. He said this would at once conduce to their general welfare. His remarks throughout were of the fire-side, conversational character, agreeably interspersed with little episodes and pleasantries, which few can employ so well as he. His remarks were listened to throughout with great attention, and, I am quite sure, had the desired effect. After Mr. Douglass concluded, Mr. H. Ford Douglass was called for; and, after some hesitation, he came forward and said he had not come prepared to make a speech, and especially after listening to the eloquent champion of oppressed humanity, Frederick Douglass, whose name and fame was world wide. But, said he, I don't know what to say. I wish the audience would give me a subject or tell me what branch of the anti-slavery subject of which to speak. He was then told to speak on the Dred Scott decision, and "Emigration." And so, he dashed off upon the Dred Scott decision, and wound up on emigration. His remarks on the latter subject was of such a character as to beard the lion in his den or crop his path. This young man is most unquestionably an earnest, clear and forcible speaker. So far as I have heard, I think I may venture to say he is the colored Clay of America. He is clear and brilliant in statement, happy in declamation, and is well calculated to arouse the multitude.—But as I said before, his remarks were of such a character as to make it necessary that Frederick Douglass should say something in reply; and he did say something in reply. He could not agree with his name sake on emancipation, notwithstanding his abilities as a speaker, splendid eloquence and silvery toned voice.—But he was warranted by circumstances in saying that the young man was more theoretical than *practical*, as evinced in the fact of his remaining in this country. Mr. Douglass did not think that precept amounted to much unless coupled with *Example*, *EXAMPLE*. Indeed, said he, after, as I think, making out his case to the satisfaction of all, "the acorn is not yet planted to grow the tree with which to build the ship to take us out of the country." As he warmed up a little during a portion of his remarks, the ebullitions of his giant powers were manifestly discoverable by all who heard him. But why should I say this, for, who that have heard him does not know his power. But the meeting ended, and all went home satisfied. Yours, in defence of oppressed millions, W.

Senator Douglas is said to have spent one hundred thousand dollars in securing his election to the Senate.

## THE DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR

A Bazaar was held in Dublin on the 17th of December by the Irish Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, which has awakened much interest in the metropolis. It was handsomely got up, and excellently managed throughout, and though it was open only for one day it realized, after paying expenses, considerably upwards of one hundred pounds—the chief part of which has been handed over to the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society.

The Bazaar was held in the Round Room of the Rotunda, the walls of which were decorated with tasteful devices executed by some of the ladies of the Society. Over the orchestra, in beautiful illuminated characters, was displayed "REMEMBER THEM THAT ARE IN BONDS;" and immediately opposite, in superlatively large letters of red and gold, was "IRELAND" circling round an Irish Harp, which was wreathed with shamrocks. On one side of this national emblem were ranged along a section of the room, the names of the contributing towns of England, in gaily colored letters a foot in length, all encircled and connected by festoons of evergreens, in which the Holly and Joy of the season shone conspicuous. Thus they had on one side, under these verdant auspices, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Halifax, Leeds, Worcester, and Coventry. On the other, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Montrose. Nor were the insignia of Royalty forgotten; V. and R., surmounted by a crown and glowing with roses, occupied a prominent position.

Between the great chandelier of the centre and the orchestra, arose a beautiful Christmas Tree, upwards of twenty feet in height. Young gentlemen, belonging to the families of committee ladies, kept guard around the tree, with their long white wands, unhooking the brilliant trifles from pendant branches for admiring little people below, as tiny purses yielded up their contents in exchange for the tempting fruit of the Christmas Tree. It was a charming scene; that brilliant room, with its rich liberal contributions and tasteful surroundings, its warm sympathies, its earnest happy faces, and the pervading harmony among the conductors of the whole. Some of us had heard so much and had read so much against bazaars, that we entered on this determined to test the practicability of their unexceptionable management, and never was a conviction more clear from what was there realized, that bazaars, like other organizations, may be well or ill conducted, and have good or bad results, according to the principles on which they are founded, and the spirit in which those principles are carried out.

We have often been asked would not the money expended in executing these works of taste that ornament the Bazaar table, be much better at once transferred to the treasury of the philanthropic society they are intended eventually to serve, instead of going through the doubtful process of sinking capital for the lady-like manufactures to be disposed of at a Fancy Fair? This question is put first as if they who give their energies to the philanthropic society in question, were able to choose between the two alternatives, *money*, *without a bazaar*, or *money with all the additional trouble of a bazaar*. The fact is, they who work the charity are doubly thankful to those who give the means of sustaining it without the intermediate process; but we think it best to leave contributors to choose that medium they prefer. The money direct lessens our trouble, but we believe the well managed Bazaar has its humanizing influences, its spirit of enquiry, its benevolent attractions, and its cheering results, that even the long list of well rounded subscriptions cannot to the same extent spread abroad, though we admit the subscription more promptly and with less difficulty, reaches the philanthropic treasury. But the fancy products of the Bazaar reach circles where your subscription list would not be glanced at. There are sympathies that may be awakened and purse-strings that have been widely opened, when approached through Berlin Wool embroidery, and silken tissues,



that would have been appealed to in vain for a direct subscription. To awaken slumbering sympathies even that way has sometimes been of permanent use, and the lady whose ingenious work tempts the lukewarm to purchase, can console herself with the thought that she may be helping to promote the cause of humanity, in more ways than one. The sofa cushion purchased at an Anti-Slavery Bazaar has before now, not only suggested to the lady-like possessor a kindly remembrance of those that are in bonds, but an humbling comparison between her own dull sympathies, and the warmer feelings that prompted the industry which created that on which she reposes in listless inactivity. This suggestion set idle fingers to work, as well it might, and we trust that it will do so again and again.

#### LETTER FROM WM. WHIPPER TO MISS GRIFFITHS.

COLUMBIA, Pa., Feb. 3, 1859.

Miss Julia Griffiths: My Dear Friend:—

I am pleased to learn, by your very interesting letter to "Frederick Douglass' Paper," dated Nov. 17, 1858, that every new enterprise that aims to promote the interest and welfare of your colored friends on this side of the water, claims your attention, and enlists your sympathies.—We are made to feel the power of your ubiquitous spirit, and I am truly thankful that a kind and overruling Providence has spared you to continue your philanthropic efforts in behalf of American bondmen.

The subject of Cotton has assumed a new and interesting aspect since you left these shores, by the publication of a very interesting pamphlet by Benjamin Coates, Esq., of Philadelphia, and the recent discoveries of travelers in Africa.

We have formerly regarded Cotton as identified with slavery and oppression—now with freedom and expansion. Therefore, the facts detailed in your letter, relative to the perfect working of the machinery in the "Meltham Cotton Mills," will prove interesting to all those who from their present stand point are inclined to regard Cotton as the great *VULCRUM* of freedom.

The genius of American philanthropy has been nearly exhausted in the attempt to discover a substitute for slave-grown Cotton; and if the statistics that have been presented are reliable, the only real substitute is free-grown Cotton.—If it has or can be demonstrated that Cotton be raised in Africa, and exported to European markets at a price that will not only compete with American Cotton, but effectually drive it from the market, then I maintain that Cotton growing in Africa is a practical anti-slavery work, in which a portion of the free colored population of this country and millions of Africans may engage with profit to themselves and their brethren in bonds, without the least sacrifice of any just principle of duty or affection to the land of their birth, or the country of their adoption.—The success of such an enterprise would not only annihilate the slave trade, but sweep from the face of the earth its concomitant, "domestic slavery."

I do not assert that Cotton is the "one sole foundation of American slavery," but I do maintain that it is one of the very formidable props on which rests that great Bastille of oppression.

In your ardent zeal for the success of the anti-slavery enterprise through the channel of your own convictions, you "deprecate the folly of your free colored friends being led away with any African schemes whatsoever from their native country, the United States." On this point I confess that your prejudices far exceed my own. I would prefer to have American slavery abolished by African, rather than European influence. Are you not now busily engaged in bottling up the humanity of the British nation, and sending it here in the shape of pounds, shillings and pence, for the purpose of spreading the live coals of freedom on the American heart, and assisting the flying and toil worn fugitive to find a shelter, home and protection from American task-masters on British soil? Did not the "noblest Roman of them all" cross the Atlantic, and spend years lecturing in the same field you now occupy for the purpose of obtaining the moral and religious influence of Great Britain against the institution of American slavery? and would it not be an object equally commendable and praiseworthy for many of his brethren here to go to Yoruba, or other parts of Africa, and instruct the natives in regard to the cultivation of Cotton, to be sent to the Liverpool and London markets for the purpose of at-

tracting the commercial influence of Great Britain from the trade in slave-grown Cotton? It appears to my mind that such a course would be just in motive, wise in detail, and comprehensive in action, and compare favorably with all other efforts in foreign lands. Then each individual so engaged would be made to feel the force of your beautiful expression, "how great are his responsibilities, and how much may depend on his individual exertion."

The disposition to disparage every thing relating to Africa, or of African origin, is one of the stereotyped instincts of American slavery. It is the enemy of progress, and a hallucination that follows the "freed man" over the whole country. It is an old habit, that has become so fixed in our mental constitutions, that we may not be conscious of it, yet its deleterious influence is none the less. It is antagonistical to all the elements of modern civilization, and to the enlightened spirit of the age in which we live.

I would not have you think that I love England less because I love Africa more. I love England, modern, enlightened England, because having contracted a debt with Africa in a barbarous age, by the forcible enslavement of her children, she now makes all the restitution in her power by the emancipation of her bondmen, and the facilities she is furnishing to promote the introduction of science, religion, literature and civilization into that long neglected continent. England owes a moral debt to Africa of two centuries standing, the interest of which is beginning to be collected by her contributions to the cause of freedom.

I do most heartily desire that the cherished hope of our friend Coates may be realized, in the production of Cotton, and its entry into British markets; then the British nation will be able to liquidate the debt with interest to themselves, and the cause of humanity and civilization throughout the world.

So far from feeling humiliated at the mere mention of Africa, or any thing African, I would summon her to meet me on the rampart of nations, and inaugurate a new destiny. I would dislodge from the labyrinth of the past, and the rubbish of ages, the long catalogue of her traditional fathers, who have reposed three thousand years beneath her surface. I would have her baptized afresh on the altar of civilization, and her luxuriant soil to "blossom like the rose" by the indefatigable labors of her husbandmen. I would collect the resources of her productive industry, and extract the gold from her thousand mountains, and pile them up in every port, until the pedestal of her commerce should attract the admiration of the world, to which every nation under heaven should pay tribute. I would not stop until I had expelled ignorance, superstition and idolatry, by the demonstrations of science and the light of the pure gospel.—Yet, after all this, I should claim to stand where I now stand, a denizen of the world under God's moral government, and deny the moral right of any man, or body of men, to dictate to me, and say in what place I shall reside, or what country shall be my home. "My country is the world, and my countrymen all mankind."

These unjust prejudices against Africa have been fostered by the action of the American Colonization Society, and many honest minded persons continue those prejudices against every thing that relates to Africa, because they regard it as being connected with the operations of that institution. In this they are wrong; every institution should be judged righteously, and stand or fall on its own merits.

The "African Civilization Society" and this Cotton business is a speciality, and does not compromise any person whatever to its support without their voluntary sanction, any more than Free Masonry, Spiritualism, or Mormonism.—Those who go to Africa to raise Cotton or dig gold, are on a par with those who go to Canada, Australia, or Hayti. To deny them such a privilege is a curtailment of their inalienable rights, which constitutes an arrogant form of despotism. The abolition of slavery in these United States is a large and comprehensive measure. It is entirely too weak to despise specialities, or special measures. If the effort to cultivate Cotton can be instrumental in aiding this noble cause, I say God speed the work, no matter who or how many engage in it. If those who from sheer prejudice to Africa, and every thing African, oppose it, will only take the pains to convince those who have faith in the measure that it must prove abortive, they will doubtless perform a good work, and receive the thanks of those they have labored to enlighten.

There are many other points in your letter that I intended to refer to, but my sheet is full. With the sincere desire that Providence may protect and spare you to once more revisit these

shores, and see those whom your labors have made them happy, I subscribe myself,

Your friend, WM. WHIPPER.

#### LINES

Suggested by the recent Report of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society.

"One hundred and fifty of these weary and travel-worn fugitives have come to us for aid during the past year. And may blessings fall on the kind friends over the water, who have assisted us in supplying their wants, and helping them forward with a hearty 'God speed' to that land where the breezes of heaven fan not the brow of a slave."—*Annual Report*.

O'er hill and vale, through forest lone,  
By dreary swamp and river wave.  
Northward, by night, they journeyed on,  
Seeking for Freedom or a grave.

But worn in strength and spent in mind,  
Their last faint hopes were almost o'er—  
The hunters on their track behind,  
And Freedom's land still far before;

When, in a city of the North,  
Those whom no threats of man dismay,  
A generous hand of aid stretched forth,  
To cheer and guard them on their way.

Thank God! that in that land of chains,  
Spite of all tyrant laws can do,  
A brave and faithful band remains,  
To Freedom and their Brother true.

And shall not we, above whom waves  
The banner of The Kingdoms Three—  
That banner 'neath whose folds the slave  
May proudly stand, erect and free—

Shall not we, too, with heart and hand,  
In Freedom's holy name unite,  
Upholding those that faithful stand,  
In the great cause of human right?

Is not the Isle of the O'Neills,  
Or gallant Bruce or Hampden's Land,  
By every tie the patriot feels,  
Still pledged on Freedom's side to stand?

Up! there is work for all to do;  
And if we Britons have at home  
Evil and wrong to combat too,  
And bygone error to atone,

Still, in the name of Him who came,  
Mankind to bless the wide world o'er;  
Whose pitying love extends the same,  
O'er Britain's isles or Afric's shore,

Where'er a good deed may be done—  
Where'er a wrong may righted be,  
Or act of ours make less the sum  
Of human guilt or misery;

There, let us lend a helping hand,  
Our brother man to bless and save;  
Spread light and truth through every land,  
And strike the shackles from the slave.

DUBLIN, January, 1859.

A CASE OF KIDNAPPING.—Considerable excitement has prevailed among the colored people of Boston for several days past, in consequence of the mysterious abduction of the child of a colored woman living in Southac street. The mother came, it is supposed, from Virginia some time last Spring with her child, and husband, who is a white man. A few weeks since they made arrangements to go to Baltimore; the goods and chattels were all packed and placed on board a vessel, but while the mother was making a farewell call upon a friend, the child was kidnapped from a woman named Peters, in whose care it had been left during her absence, and no trace of it has yet been discovered.—*Mass. Spy*.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—Mr. Vaughan, editor of *The Leavenworth* (Kansas) *Times*, is out in a card in his own defense, in reference to the recent fugitive slave case. He says: "That I helped Charley Fisher to escape may be true—that I am rejoiced in his escape is certain. It is also equally true and certain that I am responsible for all that has appeared in *The Times* relative to the matter. If I have outraged any law, let me suffer. If any individual feels aggrieved, he can have all the satisfaction he desires."

Petitions are circulating in Barton county, Mo., requesting the Legislature to prohibit the introduction of any more slaves into the State, and to preserve the soil for the enjoyment and support of free white citizens.



## THE CUBA DEBATE.

SPEECH OF  
HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD

IN THE

Senate on Monday, Jan. 21, 1859.

Mr. President, the bills which engage the attention of Congress generally originate either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives. But this measure is ushered into our presence by the Message from the Executive palace. It is, therefore, in its origin an Executive measure. Its nature corresponds to its parentage. It proposes to relax constitutional and legislative restraints upon the Executive power, and to transfer control over the Treasury, together with the power of negotiating in foreign affairs, from Congress and from the Senate to the President of the United States. It is not an isolated Executive measure of this kind, but it is one of a series of such measures which the President of the United States has introduced at the present session in the same way. One of this series proposes that Congress shall authorize the President to move the Army and the Navy of the United States into adjacent States of the Republic of Mexico and establish a protectorate there. Another asks our consent to invest the President of the United States with the power to make war in his own discretion and at his own pleasure against all, or nearly all, the Spanish-American States on this continent.

A measure thus disparaging to the intelligence, the virtue and the independence of the National Legislature, a measure so dangerous to the civil and religious liberties of the American people, it must be expected, will receive at the hands of Congress a careful scrutiny.—It is not my purpose, at this time, to bestow that scrutiny in its full extent, upon the bill which has been reported in accordance with the recommendation of the President of the United States; but I do intend to indicate some of the considerations which have brought me to the conviction that this bill, under no circumstances, ought to receive the favor of Congress.

The bill has a financial aspect. It has also a broad political character. In regard to the financial aspect, I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the bill proposes to appropriate now, at this time, out of the Treasury of the United States, \$30,000,000, to be placed under the control of the President of the United States, to be paid by him to Spain, whenever she shall have consented to accept any treaty which he may make with her for the cession of Cuba to the United States, without waiting for a ratification of that treaty by the Senate of the United States. The appropriation of \$30,000,000 necessarily involves now a pledge, a guaranty, virtually a grant, or appropriation of so many more millions of dollars as the President of the United States, without any recourse to the Senate or to Congress, and consulting only his own mere ambition, caprice or pleasure, shall agree to give for that island; and this last amount is altogether unlimited.

The bill contains no limitation, and the President recommends no limitation. It is a bill then for just so many millions as the President shall choose to write in the treaty. What will be the number of the millions? The report of the majority of the committee says that it will probably be \$125,000,000. This calculation is based upon the fact that Spain refused \$100,000,000 ten years ago, and that Cuba has increased \$25,000,000, according to the estimate of a majority of the committee. This estimate is inconclusive, and, therefore, unsatisfactory. The amount which Spain will ask, if we suppose her to accede to this treaty will be all that she can get, and the amount which the President will give, if it be his purpose to acquire the Island of Cuba at all events and under all hazards, will be the least that Spain will consent to take. It may then just as well and as accurately be estimated that the sum to be written in the treaty will

be \$200,000,000, or \$250,000,000 or \$500,000,000, as that it shall be only \$125,000,000.

I will assume that it authorizes the President to contract a debt to Spain, without again consulting Congress or the Senate of the United States, for the sum of \$250,000,000. This proposition comes at a time when our revenues are reduced to \$50,000,000, and there is a confessed deficiency for the year of \$30,000,000. It is immaterial whether we borrow this \$30,000,000 to pay to Spain, as the bill proposes, or whether we pay it out of the receipts of the revenues flowing into the Treasury, and borrow the money to supply the place of what we thus abstract. It proposes nothing less than to authorize the President of the United States to create at once and absolutely a debt of \$30,000,000, in addition to a deficit, which is virtually an existing debt against the Treasury, of \$30,000,000; making \$60,000,000, of new debt certain, and \$220,000,000 contingent. This, added to an already funded debt of \$60,000,000, will raise the national debt to \$280,000,000. This is to be done under extraordinary circumstances. We have at this moment no financial system—no system of revenue. We have, indeed, a tariff law which brought last year into the Treasury over \$40,000,000, and this year is expected to bring in \$50,000,000; but a revenue law which leaves an annual deficit cannot be said to constitute a fiscal system. Congress, after being in session now near two months, has utterly failed to devise any kind of revenue system whatever. Nor has the Executive Administration submitted to Congress any system for this emergency. This statement is strictly true, if you consider that the President recommends one system in his annual Message, and that the Secretary of the Treasury, his own responsible Minister of Finance submits to us another and widely different one.

This great increase of the public debt, we are asked to make at the very hour when, in compliance with the executive recommendation, we are proposing to authorize him to build the Pacific Railroad, at a cost of not less than \$125,000,000, more; and simultaneously with this, in the same Message. We are also asked to authorize the President to move the Army into Mexico, which can cost nothing less than \$100,000,000 more; and at the same time, in pursuance of recommendations of the same weight and authority. We are asked to authorize him to employ the Army and the Navy against just so many Spanish American States on this continent as he shall choose, which can require nothing less than \$100,000,000 more; so, without any financial system at all, we are to have a great debt created by this Congress of the United States, on the recommendation and application of the President, to strengthen the arm of the Executive, while weakening the poor and the constitutional force of the Senate and the House of Representatives a debt of \$500,000,000.

The honorable Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Simmons) the other day spoke in glowing terms, and yet most justly, of the credit of the United States, and showed that, with the small debt that we now have, a nominal debt, we can go into the market, and with a five per cent. stock, borrow money at a premium, or, perhaps, borrow money on a four per cent. stock anywhere in the markets of the world. That is because we are novices, inexperienced, untried, and unknown in the money market, except for paying such small debts as we have made. But, Sir, when we shall have shown that we can increase our debt in forty days, for that is the period which remains of this session, from \$60,000,000 to \$500,000,000, I beg leave to express the opinion that the rate of interest will be found to rise in proportion to the liberality with which we propose to borrow. In that case you will find your revenue derived from all sources scarcely more than enough to pay the interests of the debt which you shall thus have created, leaving no funds whatever for carrying on the ordinary operations of the Government.

This, however, it might be said, is a fanciful picture, because the bill appropriates only \$30,000,000, and not the whole \$250,000,000, which I have supposed. Nevertheless, Sir, it appropriates the whole amount which the President shall write in the treaty. We give him a blank draft on the Treasury, and authorizes him to fill up the amount for himself. I have supposed he will fill it up with \$250,000,000. But I am told that we can retreat from this contract with Spain if we find it too expensive, and abandon the measure without paying the additional sum which the President may write in the treaty. Slowly and carefully, Mr. President, let us consider. Certainly, we cannot retreat from it without forfeiting the \$30,000,000 which will have been paid. That condition will operate as a constraint upon Congress to appropriate all the remaining millions which the President may stipulate, and it will operate as a constraint upon the Senate to ratify the treaty, whatever sum may be stipulated by its provisions.

Again, Sir, no one can suppose that the President would pay the \$30,000,000 in advance to Spain, without securing possession of the Island of Cuba. When he has once obtained the Island of Cuba, and paid the \$30,000,000 as an advance upon the consideration money of the purchase, the treaty will be a contract executed, and Spain and the whole world laugh with derision at the pretence that we could rescind the contract and repudiate the remaining debt on the ground that we had then looked into our Constitution and found that we had violated it in passing the law by which we had authorized the President to make the improvident bargain.

Sir, this is a plan of financial management to which I am a stranger. It is the province of the Congress of the United States to take care of the public Treasury, and to see that every dollar that is received remains there until, by appropriation bills limited to single objects, and each bill enduring for only two years, the money is expended by agents, under their own direction and authority, for objects appointed, fixed and certain. The effect of this measure is to surrender the control over a large portion of the National treasury and resources, practically, over all that is valuable in the Treasury to the President of the United States, without retaining any effective security for his wise and faithful administration of it.

I have said that the bill has also a political aspect. It proposes to bring into the United States a foreign country, 700 miles long, and 70 miles wide, containing 1,500,000 human beings, subjects of government, occupying practically every foot upon its sidewalks in its cities, and every acre of mountain and plain and valley in the rural districts of that island; a population different entirely from the citizens of the United States—different in the language, different in race, different in habits, different in manners, different in customs, and radically different in religion; a population that will, practically, forever hold the power to exclude all American immigration, at least, to exclude it as effectually as the old States of Europe exclude our migration there, and as effectually as our old-established States practically exclude immigration from outside of their borders.—This population, then, is to be the ruling population of that island. What rights will citizens of the United States enjoy there? The 1,500,000 souls are divided. One-half whites, 250,000 free blacks, and 400,000 slaves.—What institution of justice, of freedom, of religion and public worship will obtain or remain there? I need to know. If I were willing to leave these great questions to the President of the United States, I have no right to do so. I have a voice, one of 64 voices, to determine whether such a country shall be brought into the United States, and on what terms and conditions. Joined with my colleague, we have one of 32 voices on these mighty questions! The power to speak involves a constitutional responsibility to express the voice of the State of New York upon such a measure, and on all its important details, before it shall be adopted.



I have already shown that the consent of the Senate to the passage of this bill will operate as a constraint upon the Senate to ratify whatever treaty the President shall make hereafter. If this be true, (and no one, I think, can controvert it,) then I am asked to resign a constitutional, Senatorial power, to the President of the United States, and to shift from my own shoulders to his a constitutional responsibility.

To do this is a derogation of the independence of the constitutional power of the Senate of the United States, and a practical subversion of the constitutional check, which requires that every treaty shall receive the votes of two-thirds of this body, or be absolutely void. It practically delegates to a bare majority of the Senate, and to a majority of the House of Representatives, the treaty-making power of this great empire.

Sir, if there was ever an occasion on which I should adhere tenaciously to this right, and insist upon retaining this power, it would be in such a case as this. I want to see the treaty which shall bring the Island of Cuba into the United States. I want to know the *status* which that country is to occupy. Is it to be a Territory of subjects, of political slaves? a province, and governed by armies and navies, as Spain now governs it? I may ask the President of the United States when he has executed the treaty. Is it to be a State? Who are to be the electors of the State? What is to be the *status* of the white population? Are they to enjoy universal suffrage? What is to be the *status* of the free negro population? What is to be the *status* of the slave population? We who have disputed so earnestly, often so vehemently, year after year, year in and year out, over the question whether the institution of Slavery shall be introduced into the Territory of Kansas, are expected by the President, in his simplicity, to allow him to determinate for the North and for the South, for the Free States and for the Slave States, at his own absolute pleasure, the terms and conditions upon which Cuba shall be annexed to the United States, and incorporated into the Union. I say nothing of the present incumbent of the Executive office. I say that men never chose, nor did God ever send on earth, a magistrate to whom I would confide this great question, having a constitutional right to decide it myself.

I need not say, Sir, that all our treaties of annexation contains stipulations guaranteeing rights to the countries annexed, to be incorporated into the Union, and determining the future political rights, power and authority of the inhabitants of those countries. This bill, then, is in derogation of the power of the Senate to determine by treaty for itself what the safety, honor and welfare of the country demand in regard to the political organization and government of the Island of Cuba, if it shall be acquired.

Sir, I have always received, as a political maxim the declarations made by our predecessors in regard to the acquisition of Cuba.—Every rock and every grain of sand in that island were drifted and washed out from American soil by the floods of the Mississippi, and the other estuaries of the Gulf of Mexico.—The island has seemed to me, just as our predecessors have said, to gravitate back again to the parent continent from which it sprung. I have supposed that political necessities would determine that ultimate conclusion; and I know that to political necessities all actions of government must bend, and all sentiments of nations must accommodate themselves. I have, nevertheless, been taught with the same maxim, his other rule, that the acquisition of Cuba was a question of time, of necessity, and of opportunity. It was just as clear sixty years ago, when we acquired Louisiana, as it is now, that Cuba, in the language of John Quincy Adams, gravitates to the United States, as the apple yet hanging on its native trunk gravitates to the earth which sustains it. Yet it certainly is true that Cuba was not then acquired and the reason was, that the time, necessity, and opportunity, had not then presented themselves. In fact, the time is de-

termined by the coincidence of necessity and opportunity; and that coincidence is the result of a decline of European power of this continent, and of a development of the growth of American power on the same continent.—Our forefathers said, all our predecessors have said, that when the juncture shall arise that there should be just that necessary decline of the political European power on the continent, and just that development of American power here, which makes Spain unable to keep, and ourselves able freely to obtain the island, then it would be hopeless and idle to refuse to receive Cuba, even if it were undesirable. They have said more, and I subscribe to it, that we may safely hold our souls in patience so long as Spain can keep it, and no other and stronger European Power can, or dare, take it from her. What I have to say now is, that the time and opportunity do not now serve, in my judgment, any more than they have served for the last sixty years. We may be nearer, as, indeed, I doubt not we are, the acquisition of Cuba; but we have not arrived at that point at which the acquisition must necessarily be made, or can be made, consistently with the conditions of peace, prudence, justice, and the national honor.

Ten years ago the President of the United States declared that Cuba was to be acquired only by treaty, by purchase, and not by war. The present President of the United States reaffirms that proposition now; so that the only question to be considered is, whether it *can be purchased now*. Well, ten years ago, the President of the United States offered \$100,000,000 for it, and the answer to the proposition was conceived in terms so decided, so unequivocal, so utterly forbidding all hope, that it was never afterwards renewed: and silence has been observed about ever since, in order to preserve the good understanding and the good nature of the parties. The Message of the President sent here on Friday last, shows us that, down to this hour, the proposition has not been mentioned in Spain for a period of ten years. The same Message assures us even that it will not now be mentioned to Spain, unless some peculiar and extraordinary measures are adopted to require him to bring it again to her attention.

Spain holds the island now more tenaciously—with a stronger and safer grasp than that with which she has held it at any time within the last fifty years. It is now a period of repose in Europe and in the Western World.—Spain having gone through the crisis of surrendering up her territorial empire in its largest proportions, has entered upon a new career of material progress and improvement. Her agriculture, her manufactures, her army and her navy, are in a flourishing, prosperous and improving condition. Heretofore, Spain has held the Island of Cuba in the midst of conflicts between the two great Powers of Western Europe, England and France, liable to lose it to one or the other belligerent at any moment. To-day, England and France are not only allies, but they are united in the policy of maintaining Spain in the enjoyment of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, the last remnants of her once world-wide empire.—Spain exhibits, more decidedly than ever within the last 20 years, the habits of acquiescence and loyalty by her people in her existing institutions. She seems to have passed the period when the country was rent, convulsed and distracted by the contests of democratic and monarchical factions. At present she is apparently in a condition of profound repose and contentment. If there was any doubt about this subject, all doubt is now removed by the answer which we have already received from the authorities of Spain, to this very proposition of the President of the United States, in the very form in which it is proposed that we shall adopt it. Our mail of this morning brings us the answer of the Spanish Government and Legislature to our advances, even before we have taken the first step. In the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, M. Ulloa asked the Government,

"If it intended to reply to the Message of Mr. Buchanan, inasmuch as in that Message is

a paragraph on the subject of annexing Cuba to the United States, which contains a new and really grave insult to the Spanish nation.

"Marshal O'Donnell declared that the government was disposed to demand due satisfaction for such an insult.

"In its relation with the United States, as in those with all other countries, it has always endeavored to be circumspect, moderate, reserved, but always dignified and firm, as the Government of a great people ought to be.

"The present is an era of development and veritable restoration. The period of discouragement caused by war and disunion has ceased in Spain. If the power of Spain be not great enough to menace, it is strong enough to defend the integrity of the territory of the monarchy, and to preserve the dignity of the Spanish name without stain.

"In whatever circumstances the Spanish nation may find itself, it will in the future, as in the past, never be insensible to its honor; never will it abandon the smallest portion of its territory; and a proposition having that tendency will always be considered by the Government as an insult to the Spanish people. [Approbation.]

"The sentiment of nationality, which was supposed to be weakened, and which, unhappily, was slightly weakened by our intestine discords—this sentiment, the source of high deeds and of generous and heroic aspirations, displays now new vigor, and is increased in such a way that, while we will never be aggressive and never aspire to dominate, we will never allow any encroachments to be made on the inheritance left us by our fathers." [Approbation.]

Mr. Olozaga, in his own name, and in that of several other eminent members representing the different political parties, then proposed this resolution:

"The Congress declares that it has received with satisfaction the declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and that it is disposed to give to the Government its constant support, in order to maintain the integrity of the Spanish dominions.

"The resolution was unanimously adopted and ordered to be inscribed in the archives."

Now, Sir, after having shown that there is not the least earthly prospect of acquiring the Island of Cuba by, or in consequence of, the passage of this bill, what follows? It follows that the question whether Cuba is desirable, and ought to be attained, is not at all in debate. It is an idle, a visionary and mischievous abstraction, there is no such question here; but the question which is presented is, whether the Congress of the United States shall authorize the President of the United States to offer an indignity to Spain. That is all.

Mr. SLIDELL—Will the Senator from New York permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. SEWARD—Certainly.

Mr. SLIDELL—The danger that he deprecates has already arrived. The cause of quarrel exists already, according to the extract he read from the speech of General O'Donnell; the insult had been given by the President, and immediate reparation is demanded. Therefore, we cannot very well aggravate that insult. It has passed from our power.

Mr. SEWARD—I have an answer for the honorable Senator. I propose to leave the President the constitutional power which he enjoys, of instituting treaties with Spain for the purchase of the Island of Cuba in the Caribbean Sea, and with all other Powers for all other islands in all oceans throughout the globe. I propose to leave him the right and power of sending to Congress messages announcing beforehand the treaties he proposes to make, and leave him to answer, on his own responsibility to the people and to the world, for the wisdom and the temper, the moderation and the dignity, with which he executes the great trusts. I propose, on the other hand, to reserve my own authority, my own constitutional power, and to maintain the dignity of my own official functions, and not at all to become a party to an insult which the President of the United States may be supposed to



have already offered to Spain. I cannot consent to go to his aid, though it may be necessary to draw him out of the dilemma in which he finds himself involved by a rashness which I did not advise.

Sir, I will not stop to inquire as an abstract question about the wisdom of a great nation offering insult and indignities to other nations. I will not stop now to inquire about the virtue, the morality, and the honor, to say nothing of the dignity of such a course. But I will say this, that it is not wise to offer an indignity to a foreign power if you are to gain nothing by it. So much may at least be conceded to me. And now, what is to be obtained by insulting Spain? Nothing; but only this: we must expect that she will be provoked to war to resent the indignity; and when the war has come to resent the indignity, then the prize of Cuba may be attained as indemnity for the expenses of the war. Sir, if we desire to acquire Cuba by negotiation, let us negotiate. The President disclaims and disdains to seek it by war directly. Are we to understand him and a majority of the Committee here, that they ask us to bring Spain indirectly into a war in order that we may conquer Cuba? That would be to impute to the President and the Committee bad faith, which I must utterly disclaim.

These considerations satisfy my mind that it is not expected, that it is not intended, that Cuba shall be acquired in consequence of this proceeding; but that it is supposed that some other advantage, some domestic and local benefit, will be secured to the President of the United States by provoking a debate on this subject in Congress. Sir, I do not so much undervalue the intelligence of the American people as to apprehend any such result. The proposition seems to be an empty one, an idle one, a ludicrous one; and if it were not for violating the respect due to the President of the United States and the majority of the Committee who sanction it, I should say a ridiculous one. There is a play which we have sometimes seen at the theatre, in which the heroine is an honest housewife, who has a propensity for buying everything at auction, and she is always able to assign at least one good reason for it, namely, that, though the article bought is not wanted at the time, yet it is cheap, and it will be so handy to have it if it shall ever be wanted. So, one day she bought a huge door-plate sold at an auction of a neighbor's furniture, on which was inscribed in large letters the name of "Thompson," spelled with a "p," although her own name, as well as her husband's, was Toodle.—When the indignant Mr. Toodle called her to account for the expense, "why," she said, "how do you know, my dear, that we shall not one day have a child, and that child may not be a daughter, and that daughter may not be married to somebody, and just as likely as not that somebody will be a man named 'Thompson,' and his name may be spelled with a 'p' [laughter.] so it will fit then just exactly. I could not help buying it because it was so cheap, and it will be so handy, you know, to have it in the house." That, Sir, is exactly the value of this great Presidential demonstration, made, I think, to retrieve the sinking and wasting fortunes of an Administration that has disappointed its own immoderate desires not more than the less sanguine expectations of the American people.

The New York Sun's Washington Correspondent says there was a striking spectacle afforded to the street public near the Baltimore Depot on Friday. A string of slaves with a white man at their head, pistol in hand, and another in the rear, armed in a like manner, marched from some private slave pen in that city, to the depot to take the cars for Baltimore, where they will be sold privately or at auction. And this at the capital of the free United States!

The annual meeting of the American Colonization Society was held in Washington, Jan. 18. The Secretary's report states that the receipts last year were \$62,000, and represents that there is an increasing disposition among the free colored people in the Northern States to emigrate to Africa.

### Self-Made Men--Frederick Douglass' Second Lecture.

[From The Chicago Tribune.]

Frederick Douglass' second lecture was delivered to a fair house at Metropolitan Hall on Saturday evening—subject, "Self-Made Men." The lecturer commenced by saying that few subjects are more worthy our attention and study than the various use which men made of life. Such themes were interesting to all men, but especially to the young.—While it was not of such special consequence what views of life were presented to the old, and hardened, the case was widely different with those who had all the world before them and all examples to choose from. The speaker regarded life as an individual fact without reference to any other, as affording the largest variety of motive for the exercise of all men's powers. He gave a vivid picture of the different circumstances under which all men begin the journey of life, portraying the condition of fortune's favorites on the one hand and that of the children of destitution on the other—dwelling at much length upon the conflicting and puzzling contrasts, presented in the successes of different classes of individuals. Man's object was always manhood, and the study of man was the most fascinating of all studies.

After an eloquent exordium on the general subject of manhood, the speaker defined his theme by calling it "Manhood under Difficulties, or Self Made Men," dividing it into four parts: *First*, the description of self-made men; *second*, the true theory of their existence and development; *third*, the facilities afforded such men by the ideas and institutions peculiar to this country; and *fourth*, the criticism to which such men are naturally exposed. Mr. Douglass gave a rapid sketch of the difficulties and hardships incident to those who rise from a low condition in life to usefulness and fame. In accounting for self-made men, he attached but little importance either to chance, destiny, or superior natural endowments, giving the chief importance to purpose, perseverance, unconquerable will and industry. Without these, no endowment of natural abilities could be successful, and with them scarcely any other defect could stand in the way of success. Labor increased the capacity for labor; the weak were made strong by it, and the strong made stronger. Men were estimated by what they do, rather than what they can do. Potential ability was one thing, actual ability quite another thing. You are better than I when you *do* better than I. The case of Hugh Miller, the eminent geologist, was instanced as a brilliant example of self-culture.—Elihu Burritt, mastering thirty languages over the glowing anvil, Kossuth, astonishing us with his eloquence, gathered from Shakespeare and the Bible, while enduring the rigor of Austrian imprisonment.

He dwelt with much emphasis on the achievements of Benjamin Bannecker, a slave in the State of Maryland, a self-made man, and an eminent mathematician, with whom Thomas Jefferson did not think it beneath him to hold a correspondence. Mr. Douglass said Presidents were men, not platforms, in those days. He referred to Wm. Deitz, an excellent draughtsman and inventor, who had risen from the condition of a servant to become the chief manager of an estate worth three millions of dollars. There, too, said the lecturer, stands Toussaint L'Ouverture, the brave and generous soldier, the cool and sagacious statesman, and the dauntless liberator of his sable people.—Fifty of the best years of his life had been spent in slavery, and yet he had become the hero of history, poetry and eloquence. Wordsworth encircled his memory with a halo of fadeless glory, while Phillips had borne him heavenward on the chariot of his matchless rhetoric. The speaker said there were not many things in the characteristics of this country whereof to glory, yet there was one feature of especial and peculiar excellence which all must concede—it was the home and patron of self-made men. Birth and lineage did very well for a horse in America, but nothing for men. The sons of Clay and Webster and Calhoun were put upon trial with the humblest, and

must prove themselves real Clays, Websters and Calhouns, or fall into the undistinguished mass. Our departed great men pass down from their various circles like bright stars from the overhanging skies, bearing away with them their own silvery light, leaving all robed in darkness till the heavens are relighted by the splendor of the rising stars. Mr. D. attributed the abundant growth of self-made men in this country mainly to the operation of democratic ideas and principles.

American society, said the speaker, was like the ocean, never at rest. The parallel might be traced farther. It had been shown that all the waters rolling upon the globe undergo purification by being drawn up to the clouds and borne away on the wings of the gale to distant continents and capes, where they break in showers, and each pearly drop seeks the ocean level, leaving the earth refreshed by its grateful influence. So in American society does each component have its chance to rise, to bless and again be merged in the great ocean of life. Great sons follow little fathers, poor sons succeed to noble inheritance—all rise or sink by their own gravity, and the billowy tide heaves and falls forever. So it was with the humanity of America, always saving and excepting the colored race, enslaved and degraded for no crime of their own, thrust downward and still downward by the hand of power, of intelligence, of avarice and crime. And here came the mighty and unending grapple of democratic principles with the spirit of tyranny, never to be terminated till one shall have subdued the other. In the speaker's opinion the principle upon which the republic was founded would triumph, and the hand of justice yet raise up the down-trodden and give him the high privilege of becoming a Self-Made Man.

At the conclusion of the lecture it was announced that Mr. Douglass would speak on the subject of slavery at Metropolitan Hall, on Sunday at 2½ P. M.

**FREDERICK DOUGLASS' LECTURE**—Frederick Douglass' lecture at Metropolitan Hall, last evening, commanded an unusually large audience, who remained listening attentively until a quarter to ten o'clock. His subject, the Ethnology of the African Races, was treated with extensive research and rare ability. The discourse was marked with clearness and strength of argument, elegance of language, a keen humor and perfect good nature. He lectures again this evening at the same place on the subject of Self-Made Men.

**WHAT A BATCH OF PIES COST A UNITED STATES SENATOR.**—Two passengers came through on the Underground Railroad train a few days since from Kentucky. One was Senator Thompson's "boy," a likely mulatto of some 18 or 20 years of age. It is said a tie of so delicate a nature connects the "boy" with his master as to excite the ire of his mistress and to make home particularly uncomfortable when the Senator is at Washington.

A batch of pies caused the "boy" to leave home. He had put the pies in the oven leaving the door open, as the oven was too hot, but by some accident the door got shut, the pies were burned, the "boy" was promised a licking in the morning, but before day he and a fellow were on their way toward the North Star.—*Cleveland Herald.*

The Republican members of both branches of Congress intend to procure a service of plate, worth several hundred dollars, for presentation to Hon. J. R. Giddings, at the close of his service in the House. Several Democrats have also subscribed to the fund, and others who do not wish to have their names appear, have proffered subscriptions; but as the names are to be engraved on the plate, such offers are declined.

Colona is the name for a new territory that is made, or to be made, out of portions of several other territories, including the auriferous regions of Kansas and Nebraska. The name is taken from the Spanish appellation of Columbus. Many years since a writer in the American Monthly suggested that Colona would be a good national name for the United States.



### Frederick Douglass in the West.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—This remarkable man delivered two lectures last week in Metropolitan Hall. The subject of his first lecture, on Friday evening was "The Races of Men." A large congregation assembled to hear him. He was very happily introduced to the audience by a mulatto who we were told was his namesake, Ford Douglass, after which he spoke for an hour and a half or more in a strain of commingled argument, wit and humor seldom surpassed in that hall. The lecture was not indeed a complete discussion of that broad and difficult subject. For that he had not time in one lecture, and it would be marvellous if he had the knowledge to do it in a series of lectures. Yet it was a most triumphant vindication of the black man's claims to humanity. On Saturday evening his theme was "Self Made Men." He had not quite so large an audience as on the previous evening, and did not speak with quite as much freedom, making more use of his notes, yet his presentation of the subject was able and his views were eminently sound and just. The list of examples of self-made men he gave was necessarily incomplete, for modesty would not admit of any reference to himself. Were we to lecture on that subject we could not overlook so wonderful an instance as Frederick Douglass. Mr. D. is a natural orator. Not one speaker in a hundred of any color has so good a voice or so graceful a delivery, while his style is scarcely excelled by Washington Irving. When we think that he was brought up a chattel slave, forbidden by law to learn to read or write, shut out from schools and books, all ordinary means of mental improvement, pressed down to the earth by all the laws and all the institutions of the land that gave me birth, and add that he has never as we are informed attended school a day in his life, we are astonished at what the man has made of himself, and seriously doubt whether all history can furnish any instance more remarkable.—*Chicago Cong. Herald.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS LECTURES.—The lectures by Frederick Douglass, the colored orator, at Plymouth Hall, on Monday and Tuesday evenings, were each attended by large and intelligent audiences. The lecture on Monday evening was on "Races of Men," and in it the speaker exhibited both his powers of eloquence, and his logic. His arguments in proof of his proposition that a negro is a man, were such as ethnologists find it impossible to controvert. He treated the subject fairly, and reached his conclusions from just premises. On Tuesday evening his lecture was on "Self-Made Men," and was more purely a literary production. It showed what a colored man can do in the field of literature; and when we say that this lecture was as full of bright gems and brilliant thoughts, as the productions of some of America's most gifted sons, we only express the sentiments of the attentive listeners who were present. It was really a superior production, much above the average of lectures delivered before the Lyceums and Associations of our country by the literati of the land.

After Mr. Douglass had concluded his lecture on Tuesday eve., in response to an unanimous call from the audience, Mr. H. Ford Douglass, of Chicago, another living evidence of the "humanity" extant in the colored race, took the stand and delivered a brief address on the subject of slavery. It was eloquent, earnest and scathing.—*Freeport Journal.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' lecture last evening, on the "Unity of the Races," was the most sound and logical argumentative discourse we have listened to for a long time. And the facts and arguments which he brought to bear in proof of his position, were stern, uncombatable, and, it seems to us, convincing. He spoke about two hours, clothing his thoughts in language the strongest and purest. His severe home thrusts and cutting sarcasms were interspersed with lively sallies of wit, and humorous comparisons. Frederick evidently relishes a joke as well as any man. It was the first opportunity we ever had of listening to

this Anglo-Ethiopian; but found, in point of talent, all that he has been represented. In a word, he possesses all the attributes of a great orator. We were glad to see Union Hall so well filled with an audience whose repeated bursts of applause gave evidence that they appreciated the sentiments of the speaker.

Mr. Douglass speaks this evening, in connection with H. Ford Douglass, of Chicago, upon the political question of Slavery. Let every fortunate possessor of fifteen cents not fail to hear Frederick Douglass.—*Dixon Republican.*

AN INCIDENT.—At the close of the lecture of Frederick Douglass in this city, Thursday evening, a gentleman approached Mr. D., and took him warmly by the hand. This gentleman was Mr. Cobb, of Darien, Walworth county, who hearing that Mr. Douglas was to lecture here, came with his wife to see and hear him. At first sight, Mr. Douglas did not recognize his friend, but he was soon recalled to mind as one who had once been his friend indeed. Twenty years ago, when Mr. Douglass escaped from slavery, and landed in New Bedford, he found occasional employment in Richmond's brass foundry, where Mr. Cobb was foreman. Mr. Cobb engaging him to blow a pair of bellows in the evening after sweeping chimneys during the day. On one occasion, a workman from Baltimore made an assault upon the despised chimney sweep with a shovel; Mr. Cobb interfered, and telling the workman that a different rule of action existed in New Bedford from what prevailed in Baltimore, saved the "nigger" from a southern infliction of power. Throughout the whole of Mr. Douglass' stay in New Bedford, Mr. Cobb was his protector and friend. For 20 years they had not seen each other, until they met in this city. What a contrast those years have wrought in the position of Mr. Douglass.—Then, a fugitive, sweeping chimneys; now, one of the intellectual men of this country, holding thousands in admiration of his power, and swaying them by his eloquence. Mr. D. humorously alluded to this change in his circumstances, by reminding Mr. Cobb that twenty years ago he was the protector of a helpless black man in New Bedford, and now he came in Wisconsin to hear that black man preach to him.

[*Janessville Gaz.*]

"OLD BROWN" IN IOWA.—A correspondent, writing from Tabor, Iowa, Feb. 18th, informs us of the arrival at that place of "Old Brown," of Ossawatimie, Kansas, together with a company of twenty men and several recently liberated slaves. On the evening of the 6th a public meeting was held at Tabor, presided over by Jonas Jones, Esq., at which Mr. Brown made a statement of his recent doings in Missouri and Kansas, after which a spirited discussion of two hours was held by the citizens, ending in the passage of the following resolution introduced by Mr. Cummings:

Resolved, That while we sympathize with the oppressed and will do all that we consistently can to help them in their efforts to freedom, nevertheless we have no sympathy with those who go to the slave States to entice away slaves, and take property and life when necessary to attain that end.

In addition to the news already published concerning his recent liberation of slaves in Missouri, our correspondent says that he made prisoners of four men in a company pursuing him and took away their horses and arms,—also that Brown is now sick with the ague, and he and his men are in extreme destitution. They were to have left Tabor on the 9th.

Our correspondent speaks in severe terms of Brown's conduct. We do not, in a full view of the premises wholly sympathize with this feeling. He (Brown) went to Kansas a peaceable emigrant, to better his condition in life. There he was stripped of his property, his house was burned, his son Frederick murdered in cold blood almost before his eyes, and himself hunted like a wild-beast from the Territory. We do not by any means, endorse his late doings, but when it is proposed to pass judgment on them, let these things be remembered.—*Chi. Tribune.*

Miss Greenfield, the favorably known "Black Swan," proposes soon to give a vocal concert in New York, in aid of the new colonization movement to Africa.

### A Social Problem for Slaveholders.

We printed a few days since a report made to the Legislature of South Carolina, showing the births, deaths and population of that State for the year 1857, as follows:

	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Total Populat'n.
Free.....	4,628	2,917	1,711	283,523
Slave.....	14,292	8,770	5,522	384,934
Excess..	954	6,858	3,811	101,461

These facts deserve attention from all men who live in slave States. South Carolina, in whose rice fields more negroes are used up than in any other Southern State, who boasts a slave system affirmed to be perfectly adjusted to her society, and where the cry has already been voiced forth for a revival of the African trade, shows a supplanting of the white race by the black race more startling than anything ever propounded by Malthus. As a basis of our remarks we may notice the fact that for thirty years the white population has not increased at all, it being within a few thousands in 1858. Look then carefully at the above table. The slave population already exceeds the free by more than one hundred thousand—nearly one half. The relations of births is 3 08 to 1 in favor of the slaves—more than treble. At this rate what will be the condition of South Carolina at the end of the next thirty years. With the whites, the number of deaths ranges close upon the number of births; the excess probably migrating to other States. With the blacks, the difference of births and deaths is largely in favor of the births, and increasing yearly in a geometrical progression. Consider also that the slave breeding States will largely to her servile class, and that this multiplying of the blacks must be at the expense of the whites to a certain extent.

From these elements, it may be estimated according to accepted laws of population, that South Carolina will in thirty years contain a less number of free citizens than now, and more than three quarters of a million of slaves. The blacks will be three to one to whites, a social condition inflammable as powder, impossible to be sustained, and that can only look to revolt, terror, bloodshed and extirpation, as the remedial courses of the State. It needs only a glance at these figures, and a lifting of that terrible curtain of the future to see how insane, reckless, fatal is that policy persisted in by her statesmen of erecting barriers of prejudice against the influx of free laborers, and of making an effort to increase the importation of slaves. South Carolina must needs have addition to her white element, and must adopt repression of the black element to save her from the fate of absorption. Mix a hundred thousand kidnapped Ashantee savages with her three-quarters of a million slaves, and it would not be a year before fire and blood would circle in a frenzy over every plantation. Is it not clear to reason, then, that her only safety for the coming time lies in free labor progressing southward into the slave States. She must draw supplies of population from the hive of free-born nations—she must colonize from the white breeding States, or she will be the victim of negro corrosion worse than even Africanization.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

In twenty-four of the thirty-two States, negroes are allowed no political privileges with the white race. Eleven of these twenty-four States are free. New York practically excludes them by a freehold qualification and a long residence before voting. Two more—Maine and Rhode Island—exclude them by requiring all voters to be citizens of the United States. Massachusetts and New Hampshire are about the only States that make no distinction of color or race, and there they are not allowed to serve in the militia.

In beautiful illustration of the equity and humanity of the Fugitive Slave Law, a father is imprisoned in Washington for harboring his own child! The father is a free negro—the mother a slave, and the child came home from a distant part of the city to see his father, remaining two or three days. For the shelter and food given, the father now lies in jail!



**The Amistad Case---Interesting History.**

The venerable Mr. Giddings writes from Washington to the *Ashtabula Sentinel* an interesting Congressional history of the famous Amistad case, which the President in his eagerness to serve the Slave power has again thrust upon Congress with a favorable recommendation. Although Senator Mason, of Va., on the third day of the session in hot haste obtained a vote making the bill to pay for the Amistad slaves a special order for the next Tuesday, he has thought it politic to let it lie over for weeks, and Mr. G. expresses fears that it will not come up this session. Heretofore it has passed the Senate without discussion, but Mr. G. says several Senators have looked into it, and are now prepared to speak on the measure.

**HOW INGERSOLL BACKED DOWN.**

It is an interesting case. It came up in the House of Representatives in 1844 for the first time on a motion to print extra copies of the report of the committee on foreign affairs in favor of the claim. It was my fortune to lead the debate in opposition to the motion.—Mr. Adams designed to speak on the same side, after the Chairman. Mr. Ingersoll should have replied to me. The morning hour only was allotted to the subject. I occupied the first morning, and when I concluded Mr. Ingersoll obtained the floor, and I well recollect that some excellent friends were alarmed at the boldness with which I had attacked the report, saying that Ingersoll was one of the ablest members of the House, and would obliterate me whenever he should speak. But I have become somewhat accustomed to such obliterations, and said to them I had the most perfect confidence that Mr. Adams would furnish as much cause for Ingersoll to fear, as Ingersoll did for me to entertain apprehension. Mr. Adams felt a deep interest in the subject, and prepared for a severe examination of it.

But when the next morning came, Ingersoll saw the intention of Mr. Adams, and quailed before it. He backed down and actually *voted to lay his own motion on the table*. I escaped the castigation which my friends so much feared, because Ingersoll dreaded the rod which Mr. Adams had prepared for him. But the old patriot was disappointed. He desired to give an expose of the case, and after his return at the close of the session, he published the speech he had intended to make for the benefit of his constituents: and now after the labor of nearly fifteen years, members of Congress have looked up to that speech, in order to prepare for the discussion, which, I fear, will not take place.

**THE LAST SPEECH OF THE OLD MAN ELOQUENT.**

Four years after this transaction, the Senate amended our civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, by inserting fifty thousand dollars to pay for the slaves. Mr. Adams had been prostrated by a paralytic shock. He was so conscious of its effects that he would neither speak nor write for the public eye. His friends had greatly desired a letter from him addressed to the public, or to some friend as a farewell memento; but he refused. His son, Hon. F. Adams, came with him to Washington. His entrance in the Hall, after the members had so long regarded him as dead, was a most interesting scene. Southern slaveholders who had bitterly opposed him in former times, now wept at again seeing him. All business was suspended as he entered the Hall. He was feeble and pale. Holmes, of South Carolina, taking him by the arm, conducted him to his seat, and then addressed a few words to the House, congratulating the members on once more seeing their venerable associate in his seat. The veteran statesman responded in a few words, but his voice was too feeble to be heard, except by those nearest to him. He continued to meet with us, but made no attempt to participate in any discussion, until the amendment of the Senate providing for the payment of these slaves came up for discussion.

On that subject his feelings would not permit him to remain silent. When he was announced as having the floor, the House was

instantly in the most perfect confusion. Members in all parts of the Hall left their seats and gathered as near as possible, to catch the last words of the illustrious Statesman. All seemed conscious that it would be his last speech. The reporters, unable to hear him in their places, and unmindful of the rules, rushed within the bar, paper and pencil in hand, to sketch his last public address.

That speech was devoted to an exposure of the *insulting* claim approved and recommended by Polk and Pierce, and twice by Buchanan, and now pressed upon the Senate. It was, truly, the last speech of my venerable friend. A few days afterwards we bore his unconscious body from the hall. He fell in the place from which he had spoken. He died, as it were, opposing this claim.

**LOOK TO THE HOUSE.**

The amendment to the Senate was then defeated; and as often as that body has passed it, the House has defeated it. I have spoken upon it three times, and Hon. D. C. Leach, of Michigan, spoke upon it last year. These four speeches are all that have been made against it since Mr. Adams's death; but the slave power appears determined to pass it.—To give it up would in truth be a surrender, or rather an admission, that they cannot sustain their fundamental doctrine, for it involves the entire issue now pending between the parties.

**Old Brown's Parallels.**

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

TRADING POST, Kansas, Jan., 1859.

The editor of the N. Y. *Tribune* will greatly oblige a humble friend by allowing me the use of his columns while I briefly state two parallels, in my poor way.

Not one year ago, eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood, viz: Wm. Calfsetzer, Wm. Robertson, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thomas Stilwell, William Hairgrove, Asa Hairgrove, Patrick Ross and B. L. Reed, were gathered up from their work and their homes, by an armed force under one Hamilton, and, without trial or opportunity to speak in their own defense, were formed into a line, and all but one shot—five killed and five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead. All were *left for dead*. The only crime charged against them was that of being Free-State men. Now, I inquire, what action has ever, since the occurrence in May last, been taken by either the President of the United States, the Governor of Missouri, the Governor of Kansas, or any of their tools, or by any Pro-Slavery or Administration man, to ferret out and punish the perpetrators of this crime?

Now for the other parallel. On Sunday, the 19th of December, a negro man named Jim, came over to the Osage settlement, from Missouri, and stated that he, together with his wife, two children and one other negro man, were to be sold within a day or two, and begged for help to get away. On Monday, the following night, two small companies were made up to go to Missouri, and forcibly liberate the five slaves, *together with other slaves*. One of these companies I assumed to direct. We proceeded to the place, surrounded the building, liberated the slaves, and also took certain property supposed to belong to the estate. We, however, learned before leaving, that a portion of the articles we had taken belonged to a man living on the plantation as a tenant, and who was supposed to have no interest in the estate. We promptly returned to him *all we had taken*. We then went to another plantation; where we freed five more slaves, took some property, and two white men. We moved slowly away into the Territory, for some distance, and then sent the white men back, telling them to follow us as soon as they chose to do so. The other company freed one female slave, took some property, and, as I am informed, killed one white man (the master,) who fought against the liberation.

Now for a comparison. Eleven persons are forcibly restored to their "natural and

inalienable rights," with but one man killed, and all "Hell is stirred from beneath." It is currently reported that the Governor of Missouri has made a requisition upon the Governor of Kansas for the delivery of all such as were concerned in the last-named "dreadful outrage." The Marshal of Kansas is said to be collecting a posse of Missouri (not Kansas) men at West Point in Missouri, a little town about ten miles distant, to "enforce the laws." All Pro-Slavery, conservative Free-State, and doughface men, and Administration tools, are filled with holy horror.

Consider the two cases, and the action of the Administration party.

Respectfully yours, JOHN BROWN.

**The Colored People of New York--Their Number, Occupation, Churches, &c.**

A correspondent of the *Christian Register* thus gives his impressions of the colored inhabitants of New York city:

Within a few weeks past I have recreated myself by a trip to Africa, and though I cannot felicitate myself upon any new discoveries, possibly the result of my explorations may fill, not uninterestingly, my weekly column in the *Register*. The colored population of this city it is difficult to state with exactness. The number of names of colored persons in the directory is 1849, out of a total of 139,804.—The latter number represents a population of at least 750,000; this would give a colored population of *ten thousand*, assuming the proportion to hold good. This result is probably considerably within bounds. Of this 1849 adults, 144 are porters, 204 waiters, 150 white-washers, 80 coachmen and hostlers, 64 cooks, 48 barbers, 182 laborers, 124 seamen, 183 washers, 214 are marked as widows, and no occupation appended. Not more than 40 are in trade, and not above twice that number following regular mechanical trades, other than those enumerated; 2 are farmers, 1 broker, 3 printers, 6 physicians, 7 teachers, 18 reverend clergy, and 1 ventriloquist. There are nine organized religious societies—five Methodist, two Episcopal, one Presbyterian, and one Congregational.

There is a colored home for the aged and infirm, having at present about 300 inmates, and drawing annually from the Board of Governors of the city institutions \$12,000 towards its support. There is also an Orphan Asylum, which receives \$6,000 per annum from the city. Also an African Society for Mutual Relief; a Society for Promoting Education among Colored Children; one grand lodge and three subordinate lodges of colored Masons. The city supports six colored ward and three primary schools, in which 2,383 pupils were taught last year. Of these scholars, two were recipients of medals at the recent award at the Cooper institute; a silver medal (five dollars) being given to Ametta Jones, for colored drawing, and a gold medal (ten dollars) to Susan Ketchen for plain sewing.

Of the churches the 'Asbury,' Methodist, is the most humble. It is situated in Spring street, near the Bowery. Ascending a narrow flight of stairs, you arrive at a small 'upper room,' furnished in the simplest style with desk and benches. The whole is scrupulously clean, the floor nicely sanded. 'Zion's Mission,' Methodist Congregationalist, in Sixth street is a regular church edifice, of the plainest kind and considerably dilapidated. Here, though I arrived after the usual hour of commencing morning service, I found a detachment from the Sunday School gathered round the pulpit, rehearsing for the 'Exhibition.' In answer to my inquiries as to their prosperity, I was informed that they 'had been doing pretty well but there was a kind of opposition that had drawn off some—some of the society had gone to them;' so it appears that 'splits' and secession are the lot of the church, without reference to color.

The 'African Methodist Episcopal' church in West Fifteenth street, occupies the small building appropriated to the use of the Sixteenth ward school, number one. 'Zion' church, in Church street, is a substantial structure of brick, of capacity for five hundred;



devoid of all ornament, but tidy, and the floor—when I visited it—white, and newly sanded. It was impossible to read without an inward smile, the verse inscribed upon the exterior of the edifice, which, with singular appositeness, was from Isaiah, 9: 2: 'The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.'

But the most aristocratic church establishment is St. Philips, in Mulberry street. This is a fine building, tastefully frescoed interiorly, cushioned and carpeted. It has a fine organ, and very respectable choir. Here I attended service last Sabbath morning. The congregation was small, not exceeding a hundred and twenty. The clergyman (colored,) arrayed in white surplice, read the prayers, with his back to the audience, with very good intonation. The response was clear and hearty. The singing, in which the congregation joined, was performed with unction.

After assuming the black silk robe, the clergyman ascended the pulpit, and delivered with no mean display of rhetorical grace, a discourse from the 13th verse of the 22d chapter of Matthew. 'The idea,' he commenced, 'that I have drawn from this passage is that of the final separation from which he proceeded to paint as graphically as he might, the two companies who would then be assembled, and appeal to his hearers to determine on which side they would be found. Without a new idea, or any profound thought or even felicity of expression, it was a pointed and practical discourse.'

#### To the Stockholders of U. G. Railroad.

In accordance with the usages of other Railroad companies, I make this my annual report of the condition, business, &c., of the U. G. R. R.

The affairs of our road are in a healthy condition, and while we cannot report an increase of business over other years, yet the reasons are attributable to other causes than the want of confidence in the road, or its management. Our business has usually been the best in the winter season, and for the last year has been severely effected by the condition of the Ohio River. This cause has affected other companies engaged in the carrying business.

Our road being operated on different principles from any of the great lines in the country, the same results cannot reasonably be looked for. We carry passengers in only one direction, and hence receive nothing from our return trips. Our charter not allowing us to carry freight (*see charter, Higher Law, Math. vii, 12*), derives nothing from this source, the most material item of other Railroad companies. While other roads realize large sums from express and mail service, we, not being in favor with the Government, and our facilities being unknown to them, have not had any of their business.

I would suggest to any of our stockholders who may have influence with the President or his Cabinet, to secure for our road a mail contract from Cincinnati to some point on Lake Erie, or still farther, should they prefer.

I am happy to be able to state, that our Engineers and Conductors are competent and efficient, and in proof, would add that not a single accident to life or limb has occurred since the road has been in operation. Owing to their care and the good condition of the road there has been no instance of the cars being thrown off the track.

Our connections are not as complete as we desire. From jealousy, or some other cause unknown to me our officers have not been invited to participate in the several Railroad Conventions, that have been held at different times through the country. The loss is *theirs*, not *ours*. We are satisfied that the Railroad interests of the country will not be well managed until they have the benefit of our councils and experience. We will venture the remark that our company carries more passengers, at a less expense, and with more safety, than any other company in the country.

We are opposed to the system of giving

free passes to editors and others attached to the press, and also to railroad officers. Neither our president nor any other officer of the road, has a pass on any of the other railroads of the country. Our pass, in the hands of the presidents and other officers of some Railroads we could mention, might be found of service to them in great emergencies that might happen them, and if they will make application, we will be happy to supply them. The character of these emergencies to which I allude are of such complexion that it would not be proper to mention them in a report of this character.

Our financial condition is not so good as is desirable, and for the last year we have experienced the influence of the general monetary derangements that have effected all the other great interests of our country. Our agents will soon be sent out to collect stock, and we hope you will be able to promptly meet the call.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

President of the U. G. R. R. Co.  
—*Western Star, Lebanon, O.*

#### The Underground Railroad.

The recent donation in this city, for the benefit of the Superintendent (J. W. Loguen) of this Road, was not as large as we had hoped it would have been, yet, considering all the circumstances, it was quite liberal. The Superintendent is certainly very grateful to all who contributed their mite, and in return he will ever pray that they may continue to enjoy the blessings of a Republican government which guarantees freedom to *white* men, but ignores the rights of *black*.

Under the direction of Mr. Loguen, many a poor and panting fugitive has found a shelter—a home—where he is secure from the cruelties of a hard and merciless task master. Now, to furnish all these comforts, it costs money—and not a little either. The slave who is trying to escape from his prison-house of bondage is not expected to have the means wherewith to pay for assistance; if he has rags enough to cover his nakedness it is all, and sometimes more than he can do. Oh! this system of American slavery, not only outrages and tramples on the rights of men, but it insults and defies Almighty God.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Loguen's house was crowded with visitors and friends of the Underground Road. About *thirty* fugitives, whom Mr. Loguen had found good places in this and adjoining counties, were present, and enjoyed themselves finely. Every one of them brought along his donation for the cause. They all had money, because they were steady and industrious. They were well clothed, because they obtained that by the labor of their hands. Some of them were desirous of making a present to Mr. and Mrs. Loguen, of something that would be useful and at the same time a sort of memento, for their kindness to them when they knocked at their door and asked for food and shelter: therefore one gave a silver sugar spoon, with the name "Loguen" engraved on the handle, another a silver salt spoon, another a butter knife, and so on, all of which were received by Mr. and Mrs. L. with thankful hearts, which were too full for utterance.

From the bottom of our hearts we wished that class of people who feel—and especially politicians who vote as though niggers were not men and women—had no souls—could have seen these fugitives as they came to make their annual visit to him, who had been to them better than a father; had they—they would have been convinced that they knew enough to "take care of themselves."

Friends of humanity, the Underground Railroad is a benevolent institution and it wants help—pecuniary help; will you—every man, woman and child—take hold of this matter, and help it along by your contributions. In doing so you help suffering and down trodden humanity, and in return you will be doubly repaid by having a clear conscience, and the smiles of heaven will fall on you. God help and assist the fleeing fugitive.  
—*Syracuse Journal, Jan. 29.*

#### Burning a Negro at the Stake.

##### DREADFUL PARTICULARS.

A correspondent of the Maysville *Eagle* gives the following particulars of the recent burning of a negro at Troy, Ky., for the murder of his master:

On New Year's day the annual negro sales took place at Troy, the county seat, and there was quite a collection of people there; everything went on smoothly until about 3 o'clock in the evening, when Mr. James Calaway, a brother-in-law of the deceased, mounted upon an old goods-box before a store door, and addressed the people for about fifteen minutes.—He said if the mass of the people felt as he did, and would do their duty, which he believed they would, that they would take the black murderer out of jail and burn him at the stake, in the presence of all the negroes that were there, to set an example before them, and show them what will be the result of all such conduct if there should ever be such again.—Then he closed by saying, "All that feel as I do will follow me." He then leaped from the stand, and there was a general shout given, and he led the way to the jail, and nine-tenths of the multitude followed. On arriving at the jail they found the sheriff and jailor, who did all they could to suppress the mob, but all to no purpose.

They now mustered some 800 or 1,000 strong. They then commenced with sledge hammers, crowbars and axes, in about an hour entered the jail and brought forward their victim (the negro murderer.) They marched him to the centre of the jail-yard, drove down a large stake and chained him, in an erect position, hand and feet fast to the stake. There was an abundance of shavings and fine split wood piled around him—thus consumed some half an hour. During this time the negro talked to the negroes that gathered round him. He told them that he had a good master, and that he was always treated too well and given too many liberties, and for them to take warning in time and never do as he had done. Then the torch was applied, and he seemed to be entirely indifferent about it until the flames began to burn as high as his knees. Then he began to twist, and snort, and groan, and in about a minute more he commenced to scream. He gave some of the most hideous screams that I ever heard come from any human being.

I could not stand to see any more and left. When I left the flames were burning as high as his head. I was only a spectator, took no hand either for or against. I think that there were some 1,500 to 2,000 people to witness this dreadful scene, and 200 or 300 negroes.

BOUND FOR A LAND OF FREEDOM.—Yesterday morning, there left this city for Canada, "a smart, likely young negro" with his wife and child, who have escaped from slavery and were bound for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," which Mr. Jefferson of Virginia would define as their "inalienable rights." The fugitives reached this city in an exhausted condition, and were kindly cared for by some of our citizens, and after a couple of days' rest, started on the last stage of their perilous journey. They are now free in the dominions of the British monarch, and those who have helped them on their journey may enjoy the reward which follows a righteous action. A thousand cheers for the Underground Railroad—it has paid a glorious dividend!—*Lowell Citizen.*

ANOTHER PASSENGER.—A "likely" thousand-dollar negro, from Maysville, Ky., passed through here last Saturday evening, toward the North Star. Several of our citizens endangered the perpetuity of the Union, by contributing to aid his escape.—*Conneaut Reporter.*

A few nights ago, some half dozen slaves belonging to Mrs. Barnes, Oliver Jackson, and others in and about Morgantown, Va., ran, off upon the U. G. R. R.



## A Heartless Man.

"We hear that a man, or rather a thing in the divine form of a man, lately passed thro' this city with a drove of negroes, destined for a Southern market. In the lot there were several infants, which he did not desire to take with him, because, as he said, they would injure the sale of their mothers. Some of these he disposed of here, separating them, of course, from their parents.

"One instance, in particular, of which we heard, fully satisfies us that he is too much a brute to deserve the title of a man, or the mercy of God. For the sum of fifty dollars, he sold a lady in this city, an infant of three months, consoling its mother with the fiendish remark that he would kill it unless he could sell it. We appreciate the kind motives of the lady who bought it, and are satisfied that she will do as much as possible towards supplying the place of its natural mother. But this in no way mitigates the great crime which will in all time and eternity hang upon the miserable soul of the human brute who has sold it away from the mother who bore it and loved it. How imperfect would be the provisions for the 'hereafter,' if there were no hell."—*Nashville Gazette*.

"The above we copy from the *Nashville Christian Advocate*; so that the transaction here narrated, has the indorsement of the *Nashville Gazette*, and re-indorsement of the *Christian Advocate*, and cannot be classed among the "abolition lies," that are supposed to be put in circulation by mere partizans.—And we fully approve of the sentiment, that the hereafter would be very imperfect, were there no hell for such reprobates as the one here described, as selling little infants from their mothers. But while we unite with our brethren of the press in saying that "he is too much a brute to deserve the title of a man, or the mercy of God," we have been led to query about the fate of those who tolerate such atrocities in their midst? If this brute—this monster out of the pale of God's mercy—this candidate for hell, did what is *unlawful in the Christian city of Nashville, why was he not arrested and punished?* And if he acted under the provisions of law, and has this right of selling little children from their mothers, guaranteed to him by the State of Tennessee, we would like to know how those who keep such laws in existence, are to escape the terrible doom of the man who acts thus lawfully? Entertaining the views of these editorial brethren, if we did not demand the abrogation of such laws of guarantee and protection, to such wretches, "who show no mercy," we should expect that the fumes of that not very respectable place named above, would come into our *sanctum*, and render respiration somewhat difficult."—*Wesleyan*.

HOW OLD JOHN BROWN WASN'T CAPTURED.—It is very well known that Old John Brown is a character. He is one of the "institutions" of Kansas. During the recent troubles in Southern Kansas he has been ubiquitous—now here, now there, turning up wherever danger seemed most threatening, or assistance most needed. His name is a terror throughout the whole border of Missouri. A thousand attempts have been made to capture him, but he has invariably "turned the tables" and captured his pursuers. The old man always travels openly, makes no concealment, and frequently challenges pro-slavery men to meet him. He has all the craft of a Marion, and the daring of a Lawrence. He is the Cromwell of Kansas. It is not long since the old man concluded to leave Kansas. His open marches betrayed his designs, and a company of pro-slavery men organized to take him, "dead or alive." Following close on his trail, they cornered him in a log house not far from Lawrence. He had but four men, and yet they held the valorous pro-slaveryites in bay till rescue came, and Old John Brown went on his way unharmed.

Arriving north of the Kaw river, a company of Hotspurs dashed out of Atchison to achieve immortal glory by annihilating the old hero. They took their positions. Brown's

"caravan" approached. The Hotspurs trembled. There might be glory in an attack—there was certain safety in flight. Discretion overcame valor, and away they went, "Old Brown's" men in hot pursuit. The chase was a merry one, and closed by Brown taking off three of his pursuers as prisoners; with four horses, pistols, guns, &c., as legitimate plunder. The prisoners were carried some twenty miles, and then sent back to Atchison, wiser and sadder men. They feel rather chop-fallen, and vent their wrath on their captain, whom they denounced as a blusterer and coward.—The terms might be applied to the whole party as well, for aught we know. "Old Captain Brown" is not to be taken by "boys," and he cordially invites all pro-slavery men to try their hands at arresting him. He is not yet out of Kansas, as will soon be demonstrated.—*Leavenworth Times*.

## MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS

Van Tuyl, the kidnapper, has just been tried at Canandaigua, and the jury in his case failed to agree. They were discharged. It is understood that the jurors stood ten for conviction and two for acquittal. Van Tuyl will be tried again next April.

A man named Kerley has been arrested in Washington, he had stripped a negro, tied his hands behind his back, tied his feet to the floor, slipped a noose around his neck, and then tied him up to a hat rack and whipped him. He then locked the doors and left the house. but the neighbors, hearing his groans, entered the house and cut the negro down in time to save his life.

The St. Louis Democrat estimates that the census of 1860 will increase the number of representatives from the Northern States to 155, and decrease the number from the South to 78.

Wm. H. Prescott, the historian, died at his residence in Boston last Friday. He had been in usual good health up to the moment of his death.

We see it stated that a concurrent resolution has been moved in our State Senate to expunge the odious Property Qualification clause from the Constitution.

The Boston correspondent of the Worcester Spy says that John A. Washington's fugitive slave Joe, for whose apprehension a reward of \$500 was offered, recently passed through that city in company with five other fugitives, on their way to Canada.

The Evening Post's Washington correspondent says that the announcement that the Cuba question was to be debated in the Senate last Monday, attracted Lord Napier to the Chamber. He was accompanied by Mr. Keitt of S. C., and soon after entering the Chamber, engaged in close conversation with Senator Hammond, from the same State.

In a letter to Theodore Parker, dated Montpellier, Jan. 11th, Charles Sumner says:—"People here never tire in expressing their astonishment that a republic can continue to sustain slavery. They tell me that this anomaly makes it impossible now for the liberals of Europe to cite our example."

A bill appropriating \$1,000, and authorizing the employment of counsel for the defense of Mr. Doy and son, charged with abducting negroes from Missouri, and now in jail in Platte City, Mo., passed the Lower House of the Kansas Legislature, on the 7th inst., without opposition.

A bill to prevent emancipation of slaves in North Carolina has been rejected by the House of Representatives of that State. The project was very warmly debated.

A shrewd business man, who takes little interest in politics, is reported to have remarked that the proposition to buy Cuba seemed to him "like an offer to give money that we had not got, for a thing we didn't want, to a nation that wouldn't sell."

The Washington Republic says a petition to Congress is now circulating in that city, in the name of the free colored persons residing in the District of Columbia, praying for the establishment of a colony of their class upon some of the sparsely settled Southern portions of our continent, where they may be under the protection of the Government of their native country, and have its fostering care!

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

DEAR DOUGLASS:—I wish to acknowledge through Frederick Douglass' Paper the following donations from kind trans-Atlantic friends:

Birmingham L. A. Society.....	£3 0 0
Coventry do do .....	2 10 0
Dublin do do .....	14 0 0
From two young Irish ladies.....	1 0 0

In behalf of my fugitive brethren and sisters that are constantly calling at our house for assistance to get to some place of safety, I thank these kind friends, one and all, for their remembrance of my suffering people in this the time of great distress, and in this tangible way.—The donations from the ladies in Birmingham and Coventry came by the way of our kind and ever true friend Miss Julia Griffiths. We have had occasion before to feel grateful to friends in this far-off land, through the kindness of this dear friend of the slave, Miss Griffiths. What we should have done in these hard times, I know not, if it had not been for the kind endeavors of Miss G. in behalf of our poor people. May God bless her, and all those kind friends, in their labors of love, we will ever pray, and the blessing of hundreds of fugitives struggling for liberty will be theirs. Yours, as ever,

J. W. LOGUEN, Ag't U. G. R. R.  
SYRACUSE, Feb. 4, 1859.

## TO THE FRIENDS OF THE FUGITIVES FROM SLAVERY.

The members of the Syracuse Fugitive Aid Society find it no longer convenient nor necessary, to keep up their organization. The labor of sheltering those who flee from Tyranny, providing for their immediate wants, and helping them to find safe homes in this country or Canada, must needs devolve, as it always has devolved, upon a very few individuals.—Hitherto, since 1850, it has been done for the most part by Rev. J. W. Loguen. He having been a slave and a fugitive himself, knows best how to provide for that class of sufferers, and to guard against imposition.

Mr. Loguen has agreed to devote himself wholly to this humane work; and to depend for the support of himself and family, as well as the maintenance of this Depot on the Underground Railroad, upon what the benevolent and friendly may give him.

We, therefore, hereby request, that all fugitives from Slavery, coming this way, may be directed to the care of Rev. J. W. Loguen; also, that all monies contributed or subscribed may be paid directly to him; and that all clothing or provisions contributed may be sent to his house, or such places as he may designate.

Mr. Loguen will make semi-annual reports of his receipts of money, clothes or provisions; and of the numbers of fugitives taken care of and provided for by him; and he will submit his accounts at any time, to the inspection of any persons who are interested in the success of the Underground Railroad.

Syracuse, Sept. 17, 1857.

SAMUEL J. MAY,  
JAMES FULLER,  
JOSEPH A. ALLEN,  
WILLIAM E. ABBOTT;  
LUCIUS J. ORMSBEE,  
HORACE B. KNIGHT.

## MR. LOGUEN'S CARD.

To the friends of Humanity:

The entire care of the fugitives who may stop at Syracuse, for comfort and assistance, having been devolved upon me by the Fugitive Aid Society, I hereby give notice that I shall devote myself assiduously to the duties I have undertaken to discharge. I must depend for the support of my family, and of the operations I am to conduct, upon the liberality of the friends of freedom, I shall gratefully receive money, clothes and provisions. I will make a faithful use of the same; and will report semi-annually (in Frederick Douglass' Paper, and the Syracuse Standard and Journal,) the amounts that I have received and of the numbers of Fugitives that I have sheltered and found homes for. Meanwhile, and at all times, my accounts will be open for the inspection of the friends of the cause.

J. W. LOGUEN. }  
Syracuse, N. Y., 1858.